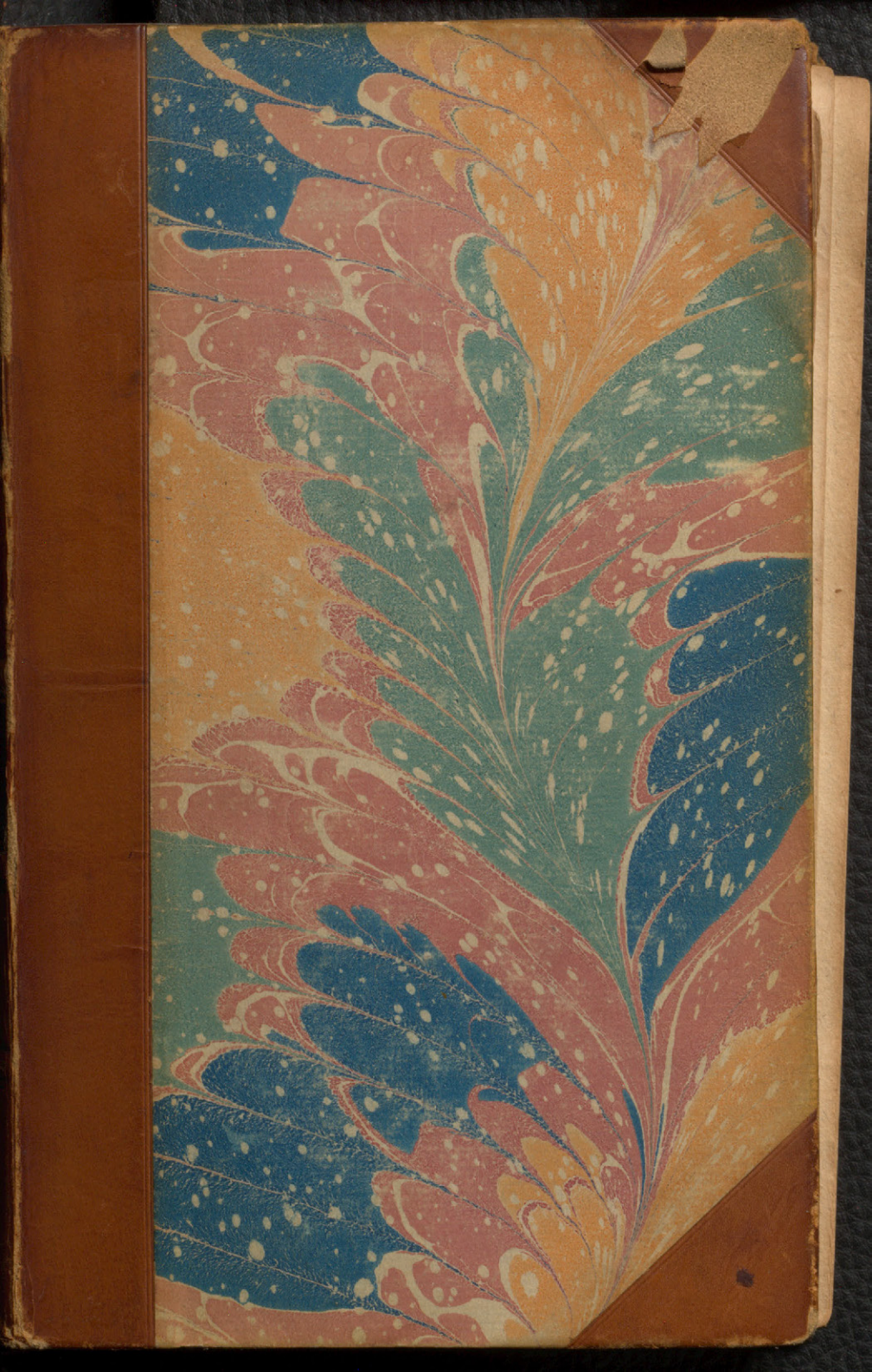
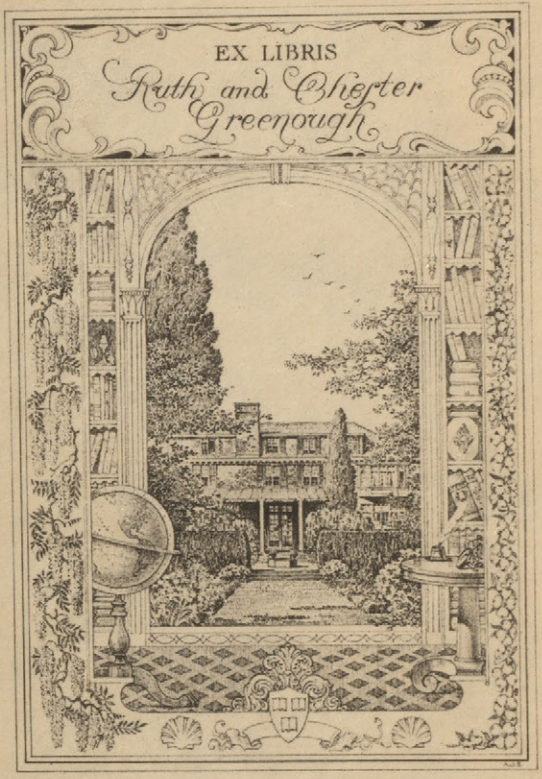




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Author of the True-born Englishman

A true

COLLECTION

OF THE

WRITINGS

OF THE

AUTHOR

OF THE

True Born *Engliſh-man*.

Corrected by himſelf.

LONDON:

Printed, and are to be Sold by moſt Bookſellers in *London* and *Weſtminſter*. M DCC III.

N B. There being a pretended Collection, of ſome of theſe Tracts, publiſhed under the ſame Name, 'tis thought fit to give notice, that there are ſeveral things inſerted in, the ſaid Book, which were not his, and thoſe that are, being full of Errors, Omiſſions and Miſtakes, which in many Places invert the Senſe and Deſign of the Author; This Collection has been corrected, and contains above double the number of Tracts that were printed in the ſaid ſham Collection, as more at large expreſſed in the Preface.

THE PREFACE

To the whole.

'TIS *not from any Opinion I have of the Value of my own Performances, nor from the Fondneſs of appearing in Print having ſo lately ſuffered for it, that I have conſented to this Publication.*

But 'tis owing to a certain Printer, who had forg'd a ſurreptitious Collection of ſeveral Tracts; in which he had the Face to put ſeveral Things which I had no Hand in, and vilely to diſmember and mangle thoſe I had; giving the Whole a Title of a Collection of my Writings; and his Publiſher, of the ſame Kidney, to put my Name to it, and all this to get a Penny, at the price of expoſing me and the Book in a moſt untivil, as well as diſhoneſt manner.

I have consented therefore to this Publication, in order to do my self Justice to the World, and that I may not be impos'd upon, nor the World abus'd, by a spurious Collection of what I have no Legitimate Claim to, and an erroneous Copy of what I have.

Before I resolv'd on this Course, I set about Correcting the Mistakes of the Book they have Publish'd, till I came to above three hundred Errors; and then being weary of Amendment, I resolv'd to disabuse the World with a corrected Copy.

Nor is this all the Injury done me, by this Piratical Printer, as such are very rightly called, who unjustly print other Mens Copies; but I think 'tis a most unaccountable piece of Boldness in him, to print that particular Book call'd, The shortest Way with the Dissenters, *while I lay under the publick Resentment for the same Fact. And though the Government, indeed, may punish one Criminal and let another go free; yet, it seems a little hard, That I should suffer for printing a Book, and another Print it in the Face of the Government to get Money by it.*

I have no Reason to be glad, tho' it is too true, I am a large Sufferer for writing that Book, though the Government were to quit me to Morrow, which I see no Reason to expect; and it cannot Correspond with my sense of Justice,

That

That another ſhould have a Tacit Allowance to repeat the Crime.

The honeſty of the Matter I ſhall not meddle with, becauſe I find 'tis what the Perſon does not concern himſelf about, but juſtifies; which he can do upon no other Foundation, than he may the taking my Hat from my Head, or my Purſe on the Road.

Theſe in ſhort are the true Cauſes of this Publication; but ſince 'tis thus uſher'd into the World, I muſt ask leave to make ſome further uſe of the Book it ſelf.

Firſt, with ſubmiſſion to a judgment of Charity, I cannot paſs for an Incendiary: Of all the Writers of this Age, I have, I am ſatisfied, the moſt Induſtriouſly avoided writing with want of Temper; and I appeal to what is now Publiſh'd, whether there is not rather a Spirit of Healing than of Sedition runs through the whole Collection, one miſunderſtood Article excepted.

And as to the excepted Piece, ſince the general Vogue has Condemn'd it, I ſubmit to the Cenſure, but muſt enter a Proteſtation that my Intention was not Seditious. I avoid Vindicating the Meaſures I took in the Method of the Argument, and rather acknowledge my ſelf in the wrong than diſpute it; but, however, I might by my ill Conduct draw a Picture which ſhew'd a Face

I did not design to Paint; yet, I never designed such a Face as should scare Mankind, and make the World think me Mad.

I have been a Man of Peace and Charity, and in all the Tracts of this Volume, I think it will appear; if I have offended in Rhime, I am ready to own my Error when Convinced of it.

The Enemy I have pursu'd is so, both to God and Man. If I have run at Vice with too full a Cry, still 'tis at Vice, and I am perswaded none but the Vicious will be angry; and for them, like Acids in Physick, I hope the more it disturbs them the better 'twill Work.

I am very sorry to find some Gentlemen angry at me for a Fault wholly their own, and which, I could not have thought would ever happen: The Case is this; They fancy themselves Lampoon'd, and Expos'd, in some Characters which really were never design'd for them: And so take a Coat which never was cut out for that use.

The Truth is, these Gentlemen are Satyrs upon themselves, by fixing the Characters, as Things which must be suitable, since the likeness was such they could not know themselves from a Stranger.

I am

I am rather sorry the Coat fits them, than that they have called it their own, since their Persons were never known to me, before they describ'd themselves in this Accident.

I am assaulted by two or three Gentlemen of another sort, and of no mean Quality, who are angry that they are left out in some Characters in the Satyr called, Reformation of Manners; *these Gentlemen are displeased, thinking I did not suppose them bad enough to be Lampoon'd; in which I must do my self this Justice, to let them know they were mistaken; for, indeed, I thought them too bad to meddle with, but that being harden'd in all manner of Vice, beyond reclaiming, I thought Satyr,* whose End is Reformation, *had no Business with them; therefore, as 'tis fear'd, their Maker has done before me, I left them to themselves, that whenever Heaven shall think fit to recover them, they may stand as Monuments of Wonder, and serve to convince the World that Miracles are not ceas'd.*

This Collection also, may disabuse the World, who tacitly charge me with writing Disrespectfully of the Queen. I appeal to the Book it self; and and as I really never did publish the least Clause that way, so I think, I never fail'd either in Verse or Prose, to address her Majesty with all the Deference of a dutiful Subject, and to add so much of the Debt due to her exalted Merit as I was capable of; and if I have ever fail'd, in

Cases

Cases less Publick, though it can never admit of a Proof, I shall not fail of such humble Acknowledgments as becomes me.

The vicious Party, who are touch'd too warmly, in some of the Satyrs, are most industriously ransacking my Character, to make it, if possible, look like themselves; the meaning is, that being as bad my self, I have really no right to find fault with them. Of this I might say much, but shall contract it to this short Hint, I never pretended to want either Sins or Misfortunes, and no Man is more willing to acknowledge his Mistakes, both to God and Man, than my self. But I make the Complainants this fair Challenge, If it can be made appear, that I am Guilty of any of the Crimes for which I have Reprov'd, Satyriz'd and Animadverted upon others, so far my Satyr is unjust, and I am an improper Person to write it.

I shall say nothing to the particular Subjects treated on in this Book, let them answer for themselves; only I think my self obliged to take notice of a Clamour, raised by some uncharitable People, about my writing against Occasional Conformity, *and ill treating Mr.* How.

As to the First, It has ever been my declared Principle, I have endeavour'd with a constant Diligent Enquiry into Truth, to come to a true Understanding in that Case; and after all, it remains clear to me, That it is sinful against God, scandalous to the Dissenters, and will be fatal to their

their Interest, and in all three, I thought my self concern'd to bring it upon the Stage. They who tax me with being the Author of Persecution by it, I think deserve no Answer; for since Occasional Communion with the Church is their Opinion, they are in no danger of Persecution: Persecution, if ever it happen, as I see no prospect of it, must not be for Occasional Complyance, but for not Complying at all.

As for my ill treating a certain Gentleman, to whom I wrote a short Preface on this Head, I appeal to all Impartial, unbyas's'd Judgements in the World, if there is any just Occasion given by me, in the said Preface, for such a Reply as that learned Gentleman gave me, and I refer to the Preface it self; and I farther appeal, if my Reply be in any thing Indecent, or unsuitable to the Necessity of my Argument, and the Respect due to a Man of his Merit.

I see nothing remains to say of me, or of my Book; they that search for Faults may find them plenty, and they that will mend them for me, shall always have my Acknowledgment for the Kindness: But he that wou'd make Faults when there is none, has little Charity and less Honesty.

But since the World has been pleased to ruffle me a little too severely, concerning my own Errors, I purpose to visit them shortly, with a State of the

Case

Case between my Errors and theirs; not at all to lessen my own, but to settle Matters between Vice and Repentance a little; and that they may have no Excuse to reject the Admonition, because the Reprover is not an Angel; and if all Men would but acknowledge their Faults as freely as I shall do mine, Amendment would certainly follow;

For Crimes confest are more than half Reform'd.

THE

THE TABLE.

THE True-Born Engliſh-man, *a Satyr.* Page 1.
The Mock-Mourners, a Satyr. p. 41.
Reformation of Manners, a Satyr. p. 64.
The Character of the late Dr. Samuel Anneſley, *by way of Elegy.* p. 110.
The Spaniſh *Deſcent, a Poem.* p. 119.

The

The TABLE.

The Freeholders Plea againſt Stock-jobbing Elections of Parliament-Men. p. 166.

Reaſons againſt a War with France, *&c.* p. 183.

An Argument, ſhewing, that a Standing Army, with conſent of Parliament, is not Inconſiſtent with a Free Government. p. 202.

The danger of the Proteſtant Religion, from the preſent proſpect of a Religious War in Europe. p. 223.

The Villainy of Stock-jobbers detected, and the Cauſes of the late run upon the Bank and Bankers diſcovered and conſidered. p. 255.

The Six diſtinguiſhing Characters of a Parliament Man. p. 271.

The poor Man's Plea. p. 284.

An Enquiry into the Occaſional Conformity of Diſſenters, in Caſes of Preferment, with a Preface to Mr. How. p. 303.

A Let-

The TABLE.

A Letter to Mr. How, *by way of Reply to his Consideration of the Preface, to an Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters.* p. 322.

The two great Questions considered. First, What the French *King will do, with respect to the* Spanish *Monarchy? Second, What Measures the* English *ought to take.* p. 345.

The two great Questions farther considered, with some Reply to the Remarks. p. 364.

An Enquiry into Occasional Conformity, shewing, that the Dissenters are no ways concerned in it. p. 380.

A new Test of the Church of Englands *Loyalty, or Whiggish Loyalty and Church Loyalty compar'd.* p. 397.

The shortest way with the Dissenters, or Proposals for the Establishment of the Church. p. 419.

A Brief

The TABLE.

A Brief Explanation of a late Pamphlet, entituled, The shortest Way with the Dissenters. p. 435.

The shortest Way to Peace and Union. p. 464.

THE

THE

True-Born *Englishman:*

A

SATYR.

Statuimus Pacem, & Securitatem, & Concordiam Judicium & Justitiam inter Anglos & Normannos, Francos, & Britones Walliæ & Cornubiæ, Pictos & Scotos Albaniæ, *similiter inter Francos & Insulanos, Provincias, & Patrias, quæ pertinent ad Coronam nostram, & inter omnes nobis Subjectos, firmiter & inviolabiliter observari.*

Charta Regis Willielmi Conquisitoris de Pacis Publica, *Cap.* 1.

An Explanatory

PREFACE.

IT is not that I see any Reason to alter my Opinion in any thing I have writ, which occasions this Epistle; but I find it necessary for the satisfaction of some Persons of Honour, as well as Wit, to pass a short Explication upon it, and tell the World what I mean, or rather, what I do not mean, in some things wherein I find I am liable to be misunderstood.

I confess my self something surpriz'd to hear that I am tax'd with [*Bewraying my own Nest, and*] *Abusing our Nation, by*

Discovering the Meanness of our Original, in order to make the English *contemptible abroad and at home; in which, I think, they are mistaken: For why should not our Neighbours be as good as We to Derive from? And I must add, That had we been an unmix'd Nation, I am of Opinion it had been to our Disadvantage: For to go no farther, we have three Nations about us as clear from mixtures of Blood as any in the World, and I know not which of them I could wish our selves to be like; I mean the* Scots, *the* Welsh *and the* Irish; *and if I were to write a Reverse to the* Satyr, *I would examine all the Nations of* Europe, *and prove, That those Nations which are most mix'd, are the best, and have least of Barbarism and Brutality among them; and abundance of Reasons might be given for it, too long to bring into a* Preface.

But I give this Hint, to let the World know, that I am far from thinking, 'tis a Satyr *upon the* English *Nation; to tell them, they are Derived from all the Nations under Heaven; that is,* from several Nations. *Nor is it meant to undervalue the Original of the* English, *for we see no reason to like them worse, being the Relicts of* Romans, Danes, Saxons *and* Normans, *than we should have done if they had remain'd* Britains, *that is,* than if they had been all *Welshmen.*

But the Intent of the Satyr *is pointed at the Vanity of those who talk of their Antiquity, and value themselves upon their Pedigree, their Ancient Families, and being* True-Born; *whereas 'tis impossible we shou'd be* True-Born; *and if we could, shou'd have lost by the Bargain.*

These sort of People, who call themselves True-Born, *and tell long Stories of their Families, and like a Nobleman of* Venice, Think a Foreigner ought not to walk on the same side of the Street with them, *are own'd to be meant in this* Satyr. *What they would infer from their long Original, I know not, nor is it easie to make out whether they are the better or the worse for their Ancestors: Our* English *Nation may Value themselves for their* Wit, Wealth *and* Courage, *and I believe few Nations will dispute it with them; but for long Originals, and Ancient* True-Born *Families of* English, *I wou'd advise them to wave the Discourse. A*

True

True English *Man is one that deserves a Character, and I have no where lessened him, that I know of*; *but as for a* True Born *English* Man, *I confess I do not understand him.*

From hence I only infer, That an English *Man, of all Men ought not to despise Foreigners* as such, *and I think the Inference is just, since* what they are to Day, we were yesterday, and to morrow they will be like us. *If Foreigners misbehave in their several Stations and Employments,* I have nothing to do with that; *the Laws are open to punish them equally with Natives, and let them have no Favour.*

But when I see the Town full of Lampoons and Invectives against Dutchmen, Only because they are Foreigners, *and the King Reproached and Insulted by Insolent Pedants, and Ballad-making Poets, for employing Foreigners, and for being a Foreigner himself, I confess my self moved by it to remind our Nation of their own* Original, *thereby to let them see what a Banter is put upon our selves in it*; *since speaking of* Englishmen ab Origine, *we are really all Foreigners our selves.*

I could go on to prove 'tis also Impolitick in us to discourage Foreigners; *since 'tis easie to make it appear that the multitudes of Foreign Nations who have took Sanctuary here, have been the greatest Additions to the Wealth and Strength of the Nation; the greatest Essential whereof is the Number of its Inhabitants: Nor would this Nation have ever arriv'd to the Degree of Wealth and Glory, it now boasts of, if the addition of Foreign Nations, both as to Manufactures and Arms, had not been helpful to it. This is so plain, that he who is ignorant of it is too dull to be talk'd with.*

The Satyr *therefore I must allow to be just, till I am otherwise convinc'd*; *because nothing can be more ridiculous than to hear our People boast of that Antiquity, which if it had been true, would have left us in so much worse a Condition than we are in now: Whereas we ought rather to boast among our Neighbours, that we are a part of themselves, of the same Original as they, but better'd by our Climate, and like our Language and Manufactures, deriv'd from them, and*

improv'd by us to a Perfection greater than they can pretend to.

This we might have valu'd our ſelves upon without Vanity: But to diſown our Deſcent from them, talk big of our Ancient Families, and long Originals, and ſtand at a diſtance from Foreigners, like the Enthuſiaſt *in Religion, with a* Stand off, I am more Holy than thou: *This is a thing ſo ridiculous, in a Nation deriv'd from Foreigners, as we are, that I could not but attack them as I have done.*

And whereas I am threatned to be call'd to a Publick Account for this Freedom; and the Publiſher of this has been News-paper'd *into Goal already for it; tho' I ſee nothing in it for which the Government can be diſpleaſed; yet if at the ſame time thoſe People who with an unlimited Arrogance in Print, every Day* Affront the King, Preſcribe the Parliament, and Lampoon the Government, *may be either Puniſhed or Reſtrained, I am content to ſtand and fall by the publick Juſtice of my Native Country, which I am not ſenſible I have any where injur'd.*

Nor would I be miſunderſtood concerning the Clergy; with whom if I have taken any Licenſe more than becomes a Satyr, *I queſtion not but thoſe Gentlemen, who are Men of Letters, are alſo Men of ſo much Candor, as to allow me a Looſe at the Crimes of the Guilty, without thinking the whole Profeſſion laſh'd who are Innocent. I profeſs to have very mean Thoughts of thoſe Gentlemen who have deſerted their own Principles, and expos'd even their Morals as well as Loyalty; but not at all to think it affects any but ſuch as are concern'd in the Fact.*

Nor would I be miſrepreſented as to the Ingratitude of the Engliſh *to the King and his Friends; as if I meant the* Engliſh as a Nation, *are ſo. The contrary is ſo apparent, that I would hope it ſhould not be Suggeſted of me: And therefore when I have brought in* Britannia *Speaking of the King, I ſuppoſe her to be the Repreſentative or Mouth of the Nation, as a Body. But if I ſay we are full of ſuch who daily affront the King, and abuſe his Friends; who Print ſcurrilous Pamphlets, virulent Lampoons, and reproachful publick Banters, againſt both the King's Perſon and his Government; I ſay nothing but what*

what is too true: And that the Satyr *is directed at such I freely own; and cannot say, but I shou'd think it very hard to be Censur'd for this* Satyr, *while such remain Unquestion'd and tacitly approv'd. That I can mean none but such, is plain from these few Lines, Page* 27.

Ye Heavens regard! Almighty *Jove*, look down,
And view thy injur'd Monarch on the Throne.
On their ungrateful Heads due Vengeance take,
Who sought his Aid, and then his Part forsake.

If I have fallen rudely upon our Vices, I hope none but the Vicious will be angry. As for Writing for Interest I disown it; I have neither Place *nor* Pension, *nor* Prospect; *nor* seek none, *nor will* have none: *If matter of Fact justifies the Truth of the Crimes, the* Satyr *is just. As to the Poetick Liberties I hope the Crime is pardonable: I am content to be Ston'd, provided none will Attack me but the Innocent*

If my Country-Men would take the Hint, and grow better Natur'd from my ill-Natur'd Poem, *as some call it; I would say this of it, that tho' it is far from the best* Satyr *that ever was Wrote, 'twould do the most Good that ever* Satyr *did*

And yet I am ready to ask Pardon of some Gentlemen too; who tho' they are English-men, *have good Nature to see themselves Reprov'd, and can bear it. These are Gentlemen in a true Sense, that can bear to be told of their* Faux Pas, *and not abuse the Reprover. To such I must say, this is no* Satyr; *they are Exceptions to the General Rule; and I value my Performance from their Generous Approbation, more than I can from any Opinion I have of its Worth.*

The hasty Errors of my Verse I made my Excuse for before; and since the time I have been upon it has been but little, and my Leisure less, I have all along strove to

ther to make the Thoughts Explicite, than the Poem Correct. However, I have mended some Faults in this Edition, and the rest must be plac'd to my Account.

As to Answers, Banters, True-English Billinsgate, *I expect them till no body will buy, and then the Shop will be shut. Had I wrote it for the Gain of the Press, I should have been concern'd at its being Printed again and again, by* Pyrates, *as they call them, and* Paragraph-Men: *But would they but do it Justice, and print it True, according to the Copy, they are welcome to sell it for a Penny, if they please.*

The Pence indeed is the End of their Works. I'll engage, if no body will Buy, no body will Write: And not a Patriot Poet of them all now will in Defence of his Native Country, which I have abus'd, they say, *Print an* Answer *to it, and give it about for* God's-sake.

THE

THE PREFACE.

THE *End of Satyr is Reformation: And the Author, tho' he doubts the Work of Converſion is at a General Stop, has put his Hand to the Plow.*

I expect a Storm of Ill-language from the Fury of the Town, and eſpecially from thoſe whoſe Engliſh *Talent it is to Rail: And without being taken for a Conjurer, I may venture to foretel, that I ſhall be Cavil'd at about my* mean Stile, rough Verſe, *and* incorrect Language; *Things I might indeed have taken more Care in. But the Book is Printed; and tho' I ſee ſome Faults, 'tis too late to mend them: And this is all I think needful to ſay to them.*

Poſſibly ſomebody may take me for a Dutchman, *in which they are miſtaken: But I am one that would be glad to ſee* Engliſhmen *behave themſelves better to Strangers, and to Governours alſo; that one might not be reproached in Foreign Countries for belonging to a* Nation that wants Manners.

I aſſure you, Gentlemen, Strangers uſe us better abroad; and we can give no reaſon but our Ill Nature for the contrary here.

Methinks an Engliſhman, *who is ſo proud of being call'd* A Goodfellow, *ſhou'd be Civil: And it cannot be denied but we are in many Caſes, and particularly to Strangers, the churliſheſt People alive.*

As to Vices, who can diſpute our Intemperance, *while an* Honeſt *Drunken Fellow is a Character in a Mans Praiſe? All our Reformations are Banters, and will be ſo, till our Magiſtrates and Gentry Re-*

form themselves by way of Example; then, and not till then, they may be expected to punish others without Blushing.

As to our Ingratitude, *I desire to be understood of that particular People, who pretending to be Protestants, have all along endeavour'd to reduce the Liberties and Religion of this Nation into the Hands of King* James *and his Popish Powers: Together, with such who enjoy the Peace and Protection of the present Government, and yet abuse and affront the King who procur'd it, and openly profess their uneasiness under him: These, by whatsoever Names or Titles they are dignified, or distinguish'd, are the People aim'd at: Nor do I disown, but that it is so much the Temper of an* Englishman *to abuse his Benefactor, that I could be glad to see it rectified.*

They who think I have been guilty of any Error, in exposing the Crimes of my own Country-men to themselves, may among many honest Instances of the like nature, find the same thing in Mr Cowly, *in his imitation of the second Olympick Ode of* Pindar: *His Words are these;*

But in this Thankless World, the Givers
Are Envy'd even by th'Receivers:
'Tis now the Cheap and Frugal Fashion,
Rather to hide than pay an Obligation.
Nay, 'tis much worse than so;
It now an *Artifice* doth grow,
Wrongs and *Outrages* to do,
Lest Men should think we *Owe*.

THE

THE INTRODUCTION.

SPeak, *Satyr*, for there's none can tell like thee,
Whether 'tis Folly, Pride, or Knavery,
That makes this discontented Land appear
Less happy now in Times of Peace, than War:
Why Civil Feuds disturb the Nation more,
Than all our bloody Wars have done before.

Fools out of Favour grudge at Knaves in Place,
And Men are always honest in Disgrace:
The Court Preferments make Men Knaves in course:
But they which wou'd be in them, wou'd be worse.
'Tis not at Foreigners that we repine,
Wou'd Foreigners their Perquisites resign:
The Grand Contention's plainly to be seen,
To get some Men put out, and some put in.
For this our Senators make long Harangues.
And florid Members whet their polish'd Tongues,
Statesmen are always sick of one Disease;
And a good Pension gives them present Ease.
That's the Specifick makes them all Content
With any King and any Government.
Good Patriots at Court-Abuses rail,
And all the Nation's Grievances bewail:
But when the *Sov'reign Balsam*'s once apply'd,
The Zealot never fails to change his Side.
And when he must the *Golden Key* resign,
The *Railing Spirit* comes about again.

Who

Who ſhall this Bubbl'd Nation diſabuſe,
While they their own Felicities refuſe?
Who at the Wars have made ſuch mighty Pother,
And now are falling out with one another:
With needleſs Fears the Jealous Nation fill,
And always have been ſav'd againſt their Will:
Who Fifty Millions *Sterling* have disburs'd,
To be with Peace and too much Plenty Curs'd.
Who their Old Monarch eagerly undo,
And yet uneaſily obey the New.
Search, *Satyr*, ſearch; a deep Inciſion make;
The Poyſon's ſtrong, the Antidote's too weak.
'Tis pointed Truth muſt manage this Diſpute,
And down-right Engliſh *Engliſhmen* Confute.

Whet thy juſt Anger at the Nation's Pride;
And with keen Phraſe repel the Vicious Tide.
To *Engliſhmen* their own beginnings ſhow,
And ask them why they ſlight their Neighbours ſo.
Go back to elder Times, and Ages paſt,
And Nations into long Oblivion caſt;
To old *Britannia*'s Youthful Days retire,
And there for *True-Born Engliſhmen* enquire.
Britannia freely will diſown the Name,
And hardly knows her ſelf from whence they came:
Wonders that They of all Men ſhou'd pretend
To *Birth* and *Blood*, and for a Name contend.
Go back to Cauſes where our Follies dwell,
And fetch the dark Original from Hell:
Speak, *Satyr*, for there's none like thee can tell.

THE

THE
True Born *Englishman.*

PART I.

WHere-ever God erects a House of Prayer,
The Devil always builds a Chapel there:
And 'twill be found upon Examination,
The latter has the largest Congregation:
For ever since he first debauch'd the Mind,
He made a perfect Conquest of Mankind.
With Uniformity of Service, he
Reigns with a general Aristocracy.
No Nonconforming Sects disturb his Reign,
For of his Yoak there's very few Complain.
He knows the Genius and the Inclination,
And matches proper Sins for every ev'ry Nation.
He needs no Standing Army Government;
He always Rules us by our own Consent:
His Laws are easie, and his gentle Sway
Makes it exceeding pleasant to obey.
The List of his Vice-gerents and Commanders,
Out-does your *Cæsars*, or your *Alexanders.*
They never fail of his infernal Aid,
And he's as certain ne'er to be betray'd.
Thro' all the World they spread his vast Command,
And death's Eternal Empire is maintain'd.

They

They rule so politickly and so well,
As if they were Lords Justices of Hell.
Duly divided to debauch Mankind,
And plant Infernal Dictates in his Mind.

Pride, the first Peer, and President of Hell,
To his share *Spain*, the largest Province, fell.
The subtile Prince thought fittest to bestow
On these the Golden Mines of *Mexico*;
With all the Silver Mountains of *Peru*;
Wealth which would in wise hands the World undo:
Because he knew their Genius to be such;
Too Lazy and too Haughty to be Rich.
So proud a People, so above their Fate,
That if reduc'd to beg, they'll beg in State.
Lavish of Money, to be counted Brave,
And proudly starve, because they scorn to save.
Never was Nation in the World before,
So very Rich, and yet so very Poor.

Lust chose the Torrid Zone of *Italy*,
Where Blood ferments in Rapes and Sodomy:
Where swelling Veins o'erflow with livid Streams,
With Heat impregnate from *Vesuvian* Flames:
Whose flowing Sulphur forms Infernal Lakes,
And humane Body of the Soil partakes.
There Nature ever burns with hot Desires,
Fann'd with Luxuriant Air from Subterranean Fires:
Here undisturb'd in Floods of scalding Lust,
Th'Infernal King reigns with Infernal Gust.

Drun-

Drunk'nneſs, the Darling Favourite of Hell,
Choſe *Germany* to Rule; and Rules ſo well,
No Subjects more obſequiouſly obey,
None pleaſe ſo well, or are ſo pleas'd as they.
The cunning Artiſt manages ſo well,
He lets them Bow to Heav'n, and Drink to Hell.
If but to Wine and him they Homage pay,
He cares not to what Deity they Pray,
What God they worſhip moſt, or in what way.
Whether by *Luther*, *Calvin*, or by *Rome*,
They ſail for Heav'n, by Wine he ſteers them home.

Ungovern'd Paſſion ſettled firſt in *France*,
Where Mankind Lives in Haſte, and Thrives by Chance,
A *Dancing Nation*, Fickle and Untrue:
Have oft undone themſelves, and others too:
Prompt the Infernal Dictates to Obey,
And in Hell's Favour none more great than they.

The *Pagan* World he blindly leads away,
And Perſonally Rules with Arbitrary Sway:
The Mask thrown off, *Plain Devil* his Title ſtands;
And what elſewhere he Tempts, he there Commands.
There with full Guſt th'Ambition of his Mind
Governs, as he of old in Heav'n deſign'd.
Worſhip'd as God, his *Painim Altars* ſmoke,
Embru'd with Blood of thoſe that him Invoke,

The reſt by Deputies he Rules as well,
And plants the diſtant Colonies of Hell.

By them his Secret Power he well maintains,
And binds the World in his Infernal Chains.

By Zeal the *Iriſh*; and the *Ruſh* by Folly:
Fury the *Dane*: The *Swede* by Melancholy:
By ſtupid Ignorance the *Muſcovite*:
The *Chineſe* by a *Child of Hell*, call'd Wit;
Wealth makes the *Perſian* too Effeminate:
And Poverty the *Tartars* Deſperate:
The *Turks* and *Moors* by *Mah'met* he ſubdues:
And God has given him leave to rule the Jews:
Rage rules the *Portugueſe*, and Fraud the *Scotch*:
Revenge the *Pole*; and Avarice the *Dutch*.

Satyr be kind, and draw a ſilent Veil,
Thy *Native England's* Vices to conceal:
Or if that Task's impoſſible to do,
At leaſt be juſt, and ſhow her Vertues too;
Too Great the firſt, Alas! the laſt too Few.

England unknown as yet, unpeopled lay;
Happy, had ſhe remain'd ſo to this Day,
And not to ev'ry Nation been a Prey.
Her open Harbours, and her Fertile Plains,
The Merchants Glory theſe, and thoſe the Swains,
To ev'ry Barbarous Nation have betray'd her,
Who Conquer her as oft as they Invade her.
So Beauty Guarded but by Innocence,
That Ruins her which ſhould be her Defence.

Ingratitude, a Devil of *Black Renown*,
Poſſeſs'd her very early for his own.

An

An Ugly, Surly, Sullen, Selfish Spirit,
Who Satan's *worst Perfections does Inherit*:
Second to him in Malice and in Force,
All *Devil without*, and all *within* him *Worse*.

He made her First-born Race to be so rude,
And suffer'd her to be so oft subdu'd:
By sev'ral Crowds of wand'ring Thieves o'er-run,
Often unpeopl'd, and as oft undone.
While ev'ry Nation that her Powers reduc'd,
Their Languages and Manners introduc'd.
From whose mix'd Relicks our Compounded Breed,
By Spurious Generation does succeed;
Making a Race uncertain and unev'n,
Deriv'd from all the Nations under Heav'n.

The *Romans* first with *Julius Cæsar* came,
Including all the Nations of that Name,
Gauls, *Greeks*, and *Lombards*; and by Computation,
Auxiliaries, or Slaves of ev'ry Nation.
With *Hengist*, *Saxons*; *Danes* with *Sueno* came,
In search of Plunder, not in search of Fame.
Scots, *Picts*, and *Irish* from th' *Hibernian* Shore;
And Conqu'ring *William* brought the *Normans* o'er.

All these their Barb'rous Off-spring left behind,
The Dregs of Armies, they of all Mankind;
Blended with *Britains* who before were here,
Of whom the *Welsh* ha' blest the Character.

From this Amphibious Ill-born Mob began
That vain ill-natur'd thing, *an* English-man.

The Customs, Sir-names, Languages, and Manners,
Of all these Nations are their own Explainers:
Whose Relicks are so lasting and so strong,
They ha' left a *Shiboleth* upon our Tongue;
By which with easie search you may distinguish
Your *Roman-Saxon-Danish-Norman* English.

The great Invading * *Norman* let us know
What Conquerors in After-Times might do
To ev'ry * *Musqueteer* he brought to *Town*,
He gave the Lands which never were his own.
When first the *English* Crown he did obtain,
He did not send his *Dutchmen* home again.
No Re-assumptions in his Reign were known,
Davenant might there ha' let his Book alone.
No Parliament his Army cou'd disband;
He rais'd no Money, for he paid in Land.
He gave his Legions their Eternal Station,
And made them all Free-holders of the Nation.
He Canton'd out the Country to his Men,
And ev'ry Soldier was a Denizen.
The Rascals thus Enrich'd, he call'd them *Lords*,
To please their Upstart Pride with new made Words;
And *Doomsday Book* his Tyranny Records.

Wm. *the Conq.*

* *Or* Archer.

And here begins our Ancient Pedigree
That so exalts our poor Nobility:
'Tis that from some *French* Trooper they derive,
Who with the *Norman* Bastard did arrive:
The Trophies of the Families appear;
Some show the Sword, the Bow, and some the Spear,
Which their Great Ancestor, *forsooth*, did wear.

These

These in the Herald's Register remain,
Their Noble mean Extraction to explain.
Yet who the Heroe was, no Man can tell,
Whether a Drummer or a Colonel:
The silent Record Blushes to reveal
Their Undescended Dark Original.

But grant the best, How came the Change to pass;
A *True-Born Englishman* of *Norman* Race?
A *Turkish* Horse can show more History,
To prove his Well-descended Family.
Conquest, as by the * Moderns 'tis expreſt, *Dr. Sherl. de Facto.*
May give a Title to the Lands possest:
But that the Longest Sword shou'd be so Civil,
To make a *Frenchman English*, that's the Devil.

These are the Heroes who despise the *Dutch*,
And rail at new-come Foreigners so much;
Forgetting that themselves are all deriv'd
From the most Scoundrel Race that ever liv'd,
A horrid Crowd of Rambling Thieves and Drones,
Who ransack'd Kingdoms, and dispeopled Towns.
The *Pict* and Painted *Britain*, Treach'rous *Scot*,
By Hunger, Theft, and Rapine, hither brought.
Norwegian Pirates, Buccaneering *Danes*,
Whose Red-hair'd Off-spring ev'ry where remains.
Who join'd with *Norman-French* compound the Breed
From whence your *True-Born Englishmen* proceed.

And lest by Length of Time it be pretended,
The Climate may this Modern Breed ha' mended;

Wise Providence to keep us where we are,
Mixes us daily with exceeding Care:
We have been *Europe's* Sink, *the Jakes* where she
Voids all her Offal Out-cast Progeny.
From our Fifth *Henry's* time, the Stroling Bands
Of banish'd Fugitives from Neighb'ring Lands,
Have here a certain Sanctuary found:
Th' Eternal Refuge of the Vagabond.
Where in but half a common Age of Time,
Borr'wing new Blood and Manners from the Clime,
Proudly they learn all Mankind to contemn,
And all their Race are *True-Born Englishmen.*

Dutch, Walloons, Flemmings, Irishmen, and *Scots,*
Vaudois and *Valtolins,* and *Hugonots,*
In good Queen *Bess's* Charitable Reign,
Supply'd us with three hundred thousand Men.
Religion, *God we thank thee,* sent them hither,
Priests, Protestants, the Devil and all together:
Of all Professions, and of ev'ry Trade,
All that were persecuted or afraid;
Whether for Debt, or other Crimes they fled,
David at *Hackelah* was still their Head.

The Off-spring of this Miscellaneous Crowd,
Had not their new Plantations long enjoy'd,
But they grew *Englishmen,* and rais'd their Votes
At Foreign Shoals of *Interloping Scots.*
The * Royal Branch from *Pict-land* did succeed, *K. J. I.
With Troops of *Scots,* and Scabs from *Northerby-Tweed.*
The Seven first Years of his Pacifick Reign
Made him and half his Nation *Englishmen.*

Scots

Scots from the *Northern* Frozen Banks of *Tay*,
With Packs and Plods came *Whigging* all away:
Thick as the Locusts which in *Ægypt* swarm'd,
With Pride and hungry Hopes compleatly arm'd:
With Native *Truth*, *Diseases*, and no *Money*,
Plunder'd our *Canaan* of the Milk and Honey.
Here they grew quickly Lords and Gentlemen,
And all their Race are *True-Born*-Englishmen.

The Civil Wars, the common Purgative,
Which always use to make the Nation thrive,
Made way for all that strolling Congregation,
Which throng'd in Pious *Ch*——*s*'s Restoration.
The *Royal Refugee* our Breed restores,
With *Foreign Courtiers*, and with *Foreign Whores*:
And carefully repeopled us again,
Throughout his Lazy, Long, Lascivious Reign;
With such a blest and True-born *English* Fry,
As much Illustrates our Nobility.
A Gratitude which will so black appear,
As future Ages must abhor to hear:
When they look back on all that Crimson Flood,
Which stream'd in *Lindsey*'s, and *Caernarvon*'s Blood:
Bold *Strafford*, *Cambridge*, *Capel*, *Lucas*, *Lisle*,
Who crown'd in Death his Father's Fun'ral Pile.
The loss of whom, in order to supply,
With *True-Born*-English Nobility,
Six Bastard Dukes survive his Luscious Reign,
The Labours of *Italian Castlemain*,
French Portsmouth, *Taby Scot*, and *Cambrian*.
Besides the Num'rous Bright and Virgin Throng,
Whose Female Glories shade them from my Song.

This Off-spring, if one Age they multiply,
May half the House with *English* Peers supply:
There with true *English* Pride they may contemn
Schomberg and *Portland*, new made Noblemen.

French Cooks, *Scotch* Pedlars, and *Italian* Whores,
Were all made Lords, or Lords Progenitors.
Beggars and Bastards by his new Creation,
Much multiply'd the P——ge of the Nation;
Who will be all, e'er one short Age runs o'er,
As *True-Born* Lords as those we had before.

Then to recruit the Commons he prepares,
And heal the Latent Breaches of the Wars;
The Pious Purpose better to advance,
H'invites the banish'd Protestants of *France*:
Hither for Gods-sake and their own they fled,
Some for Religion came, and some for Bread:
Two hundred Thousand Pair of Wooden Shooes,
Who, God be thank'd had nothing left to lose;
To Heav'n's great Praise did for Religion fly,
To make us starve our Poor in Charity.
In ev'ry Port they plant their fruitful Train,
To get a Race of *True-Born* Englishmen:
Whose Children will, when Riper Years they see,
Be as Ill-natur'd and as Proud as we:
Call themselves *English*, Foreigners despise,
Be Surly like us all, and just as Wise.

Thus from a Mixture of all Kinds began,
That Het'rogeneous *Thing*, *An Englishman*:

In

In eager Rapes, and furious Luſt begot,
Betwixt a Painted *Britain* and a *Scot*.
Whoſe gend'ring Off-ſpring quickly learn'd to Bow,
And yoke their Heifers to the *Roman* Plough:
From whence a Mongrel half-Bred Race there came,
With neither Name, nor Nation, Speech or Fame.
In whoſe hot Veins new Mixtures quickly ran,
Infus'd betwixt a *Saxon* and a *Dane*.
While their Rank Daughters, to their Parents juſt,
Receiv'd all Nations with Promiſcuous Luſt.
This Nauſeous Brood directly did contain
The well extracted Blood of *Engliſhmen*.

Which Medly canton'd in a Heptarchy,
A Rhapſody of Nations to ſupply,
Among themſelves maintain'd eternal Wars,
And ſtill the Ladies Lov'd the Conquerors.

The *Weſtern* Angles all the reſt ſubdu'd;
A bloody Nation, barbarous and rude:
Who by the *Tenure* of the Sword poſſeſt
One part of *Britain*, and ſubdu'd the reſt.
And as great things denominate the ſmall,
The Conqu'ring part gave *Title* to the whole.
The *Scot*, *Pict*, *Britain*, *Roman*, *Dane*, ſubmit,
And with the *Engliſh-Saxon* all Unite:
And theſe the mixture have ſo cloſe purſu'd,
The very Name and Memory's ſubdu'd:
No *Roman* now, no *Britain* does remain;
Wales ſtrove to ſeparate, but ſtrove in Vain:
The ſilent Nations undiſtinguiſh'd fall,
And *Engliſhman*'s the common Name for all.

Fate jumbled them together, *God knows how*;
What e'er they were they're *True-Born Engliſh* now.

The Wonder which remains is at our Pride,
To value that which all wiſe Men deride.
For *Engliſhmen* to boaſt of Generation,
Cancels their Knowledge, and Lampoons the Nation.
A *True-Born Engliſhman's* a Contradiction,
In Speech an Irony, in Fact a Fiction.
A Banter made to be a teſt of Fools,
Which thoſe that uſe it juſtly ridicules.
A Metaphor invented to expreſs
A Man *a-kin* to all the Univerſe.

For as the *Scots*, as Learned Men ha'ſaid,
Throughout the World their Wand'ring Seed ha'ſpread;
So open-handed *England*, 'tis Believ'd,
Has all the Gleanings of the World Receiv'd.

Some think of *England* 'twas our Saviour meant,
The Goſpel ſhould to all the World be ſent:
Since, when the Bleſſed Sound did hither reach,
They to all Nations might be ſaid to Preach.

'Tis well that Virtue gives Nobility,
How ſhall we elſe the want of Birth and Blood ſupply?
Since ſcarce one Family is left alive,
Which does not from ſome Foreigner derive.
Of ſixty thouſand *Engliſh* Gentlemen,
Whoſe Names and Arms in Regiſters remain,
We challenge all our Heralds to declare
Ten Families which *Engliſh-Saxons* are.

France

France juſtly boaſts the Ancient Noble Line
Of *Bourbon*, *Mommorency*, and *Lorrain*.
The *Germans* too their Houſe of *Auſtria* ſhow,
And *Holland* their Invincible *Naſſau*.
Lines which in Heraldry were ancient grown,
Before the Name of *Engliſhman*. was known.
Even *Scotland* too, her Elder Glory ſhows,
Her *Gourdons*, *Hamiltons*, and her *Monroes*;
Douglas, *Mackays*, and *Grahams*, Names well known,
Long before Ancient *England* knew her own.

But *England*, Modern to the laſt degree,
Borrows or makes her own Nobility,
And yet ſhe boldly boaſts of Pedigree:
Repines that Foreigners are put upon her,
And talks of her Antiquity and Honour:
Her *S——lls*, *S——ls*, *C——ls*, *De——la*, *M——rs*,
M——ns and *M——ues*, *D—s*, and *V———rs*,
Not one have *Engliſh* Names, yet all are *Engliſh* Peers.
Your *Houblons*, *Papillons*, and *Lethuliers*,
Paſs now for *True-born-Engliſh* Knights and Squires,
And make good Senate Members, or Lord-Mayors.
Wealth, howſoever got, in *England* makes
Lords of Mechanicks, Gentlemen of Rakes:
Antiquity and Birth are needleſs here;
'Tis Impudence and Money makes a P———r.

Innumerable City-Knights we know,
From *Blewcoat-Hoſpitals* and *Bridewel* flow.
Draymen and Porters fill the City Chair,
And Foot-Boys Magiſterial Purple wear.

Fate has but very ſmall Diſtinction ſet
Betwixt the *Counter* and the Coronet.
Tarpaulin L——ds, Pages of high Renown,
Riſe up by Poor Mens Valour, not their own.
Great Families of yeſterday we ſhow,
And Lords, whoſe Parents were *the Lord knows who.*

PART II.

THE Breed's deſcrib'd: Now, *Satyr*, if you can,
Their Temper ſhow, for *Manners make the Man.*
Fierce, as the *Britain*; as the *Roman* Brave;
And leſs inclin'd to Conquer, than to Save:
Eager to Fight, and laviſh of their Blood;
And equally of *Fear and Forecaſt* void.
The *Pict* has made 'em Sowre, the *Dane* Moroſe:
Falſe from the *Scot*, and from the *Norman* worſe.
What Honeſty they have, the *Saxons* gave them.
And That, now they grow old, begins to leave them.
The Climate makes them Terrible and Bold;
And *Engliſh* Beef their Courage does uphold:
No Danger can their Daring Spirit pall,
Always provided that their Belly's full.

In cloſe Intrigues their Faculty's but weak,
For gen'rally whate're they know they ſpeak:
And often their own Councils undermine,
By their Infirmity, and not Deſign;
From whence the Learned ſay it does proceed,
That *Engliſh* Treaſons never can ſucceed,

For

For they're so open-hearted, you may know
Their own most secret Thoughts, and others too.

The Lab'ring Poor, in spight of Double Pay,
Are Sawcy, Mutinous, and Beggarly:
So lavish of their Money and their Time,
That want of Forecast is the Nation's Crime.
Good Drunken Company is their Delight;
And what they get by Day they spend by Night.
Dull Thinking seldom does their Heads engage,
But Drink their Youth away, and Hurry on Old Age.
Empty of all good Husbandry and Sense;
And void of Manners most, when void of Pence.
Their strong aversion to Behaviour's such,
They always talk too little, or too much.
So dull, they never take the pains to think:
And seldom are good-natur'd, *but in Drink.*

In *English* Ale their dear Enjoyment lies,
For which they'll starve themselves and Families.
An *Englishman* will fairly Drink as much
As will maintain two Families of *Dutch:*
Subjecting all their Labour to their Pots;
The greatest Artists are the greatest Sots.

The Country poor do by Example live,
The Gentry lead them, and the Clergy drive;
What may we not from such Examples hope?
The Landlord is their God, the Priest their Pope.
A Drunken Clergy, and a Swearing Bench,
Has giv'n the Reformation such a Drench,

As

As wise Men think there is some cause to doubt,
Will Purge good Manners and Religion out.

Nor do the Poor alone their Liquor prize,
The Sages join in this great Sacrifice.
The Learned Men who study *Aristotle*,
Correct him with an Explanation Bottle;
Praise *Epicurus* rather than *Lysander*,
And * *Aristippus* more than *Alexander*
The Doctors too their *Galen* here resign,
And gen'rally prescribe *Specifick Wine.*
The Graduates Study's grown an easier *Task*,
While for the *Urinal* they toss the *Flask.*
The Surgeon's Art grows plainer ev'ry Hour,
And Wine's the Balm which into Wounds they pour.

*The Drunkards Name for Canary.

Poets long since *Parnassus* have forsaken,
And say the ancient Bards were all mistaken.
Apollo's lately abdicate and fled,
And good King *Bacchus* governs in his stead;
He does the Chaos of the Head refine,
And Atom-Thoughts jump into Words by Wine:
The Inspiration's of a finer Nature;
As Wine must needs excel *Parnassus* Water.

Statesmen their weighty Politicks refine,
And Soldiers raise their Courages by Wine;
Cæcilia gives her Choristers their Choice,
And let's them all drink Wine to clear their Voice.

Some think the Clergy first found out the way,
And Wine's the only Spirit by which they Pray.

But

But others, leſs prophane than ſo, agree,
It clears the Lungs and helps the Memory:
And therefore all of them Divinely think,
Inſtead of Study, 'tis as well to Drink.

And here I would be very glad to know,
Whether our *Aſgilites* may drink or no.
Th'Enlightning Fumes of Wine would certainly,
Aſſiſt them much *when they begin to fly:*
Or if a Fiery Chariot ſhou'd appear,
Inflam'd by Wine, they'd ha' the leſs to fear.

Even the Gods themſelves, as Mortals ſay,
Were they on Earth, wou'd be as drunk as they:
Nectar would be no more Celeſtial Drink,
They'd all take *Wine*, to teach them how to think.
But *Engliſh* Drunkards, Gods and Men out-do,
Drink their Eſtates away, and Senſes too.
Colon's in Debt, and if his Friends ſhould fail
To help him out, muſt Die at laſt in Goal;
His *Wealthy Uncle* ſent a Hundred Nobles,
To pay his trifles off, and rid him of his troubles:
But *Colon* like a *True-Born-Engliſhman*,
Drank all the Money out in bright Champain;
And *Colon* does in Cuſtody remain.
Drunk'neſs has been the Darling of the Realm,
E'er ſince a Drunken Pilot had the Helm.

In their Religion they are ſo unev'n,
That each Man goes *his own By-way to Heaven.*

Tena-

Tenacious of Miſtakes to that degree,
That ev'ry Man purſues it ſep'rately,
And fancies none can find the Way but he:
So ſhy of one another they are grown,
As if they ſtrove to get to Heav'n alone.
Rigid and Zealous, Poſitive and Grave,
And ev'ry Grace, but Charity, they have:
This makes them ſo Ill-natur'd and Uncivil,
That all Men think an *Engliſhman* the Devil.

Surly to Strangers, Froward to their Friend;
Submit to Love with a reluctant Mind;
Reſolv'd to be Ungrateful and Unkind.
If by Neceſſity reduc'd to ask,
The Giver has the difficulteſt Task:
For what's beſtow'd they aukwardly receive,
And always take leſs freely than they give.
The Obligation is their higheſt Grief;
And never Love, where they accept Relief.
So ſullen in their Sorrows, that 'tis known,
They'll rather die than their Afflictions own:
And if reliev'd, it is too often true,
That they'll abuſe their Benefactors too:
For in Diſtreſs their Haughty Stomach's ſuch,
They hate to ſee themſelves oblig'd too much,
Seldom Contented, often in the Wrong;
Hard to be Pleas'd at all, and never long.

If your Miſtakes their Ill-Opinion gain,
No Merit can their Favour re-obtain:
And if they're not Vindictive in their Fury,
'Tis their Unconſtant Temper does ſecure-ye;

Their

Their Brain's ſo cool, their Paſſion ſeldom burns:
For all's condens'd before the Flame returns:
The Fermentation's of ſo weak a Matter,
The Humid damps the Fume, and runs it all to Water.
So tho' the Inclination may be ſtrong,
They're Pleas'd by fits, and never Angry long.

Then if Good Nature ſhows ſome ſlender Proof,
They never think they have Reward enough;
But like our *Modern Quakers* of the Town,
Expect your Manners, and Return you none.

Friendſhip, th' abſtracted Union of the Mind,
Which all Men ſeek, but very few can find:
Of all the Nations in the Univerſe,
None talk on't more, or underſtand it leſs:
For if it does their Property annoy,
Their Property their Friendſhip will deſtroy.

As you diſcourſe them, you ſhall hear them tell
All things in which they think they do excel:
No Panegyrick needs their Praiſe record;
An Engliſhman *ne'er wants his own good word.*
His long Diſcourſes gen'rally appear
Prologu'd with his own wond'rous Character:
But firſt t' illuſtrate his own good Name,
He never fails his Neighbour to defame:
And yet he really deſigns no wrong;
His Malice goes no further than his Tongue.
But Pleas'd to Tattle, he delights to Rail,
To ſatisfie the Letch'ry of a Tale.

His

His own dear Praiſes cloſe the ample Speech,
Tells you how Wiſe he is; *that is, how Rich:*
For Wealth is Wiſdom; he that's Rich is Wiſe;
And all Men Learned Poverty Deſpiſe.
His Generoſity comes next, and then
Concludes that he's a *True-Born-Engliſhman;*
And they 'tis known, are Generous and Free,
Forgetting, and Forgiving Injury:
Which may be true, thus rightly underſtood,
Forgiving Ill turns, and forgetting Good.

Chearful in Labour when they've undertook it,
But out of Humour, when they're out of Pocket.
But if their Belly, and their Pocket's full,
They may be Phlegmatick, but never Dull:
And if a Bottle does their Brains refine,
It makes their Wit as ſparkling as their Wine.

As for the general Vices which we find
They're guilty of in common with Mankind,
Satyr, forbear, and ſilently endure;
We muſt conceal the Crimes we cannot cure.
Nor ſhall my Verſe the brighter Sex defame;
For *Engliſh* Beauty will preſerve her Name.
Beyond diſpute, Agreeable and Fair,
And Modeſter than other Nations are:
For where the Vice prevails, the great Temptation
Is want of Money more than Inclination.
In general, this only is allow'd,
They're ſomething Noiſy, and a little Proud.

An *Engliſhman* is gentleſt in Command,
Obedience is a Stranger in the Land:
Hardly ſubjected to the Magiſtrate;
For Engliſhmen *do all Subjection hate.*
Humbleſt when Rich, but peeviſh when they're Poor:
And think whate'er they have, they merit more.

The meaneſt *Engliſh* Plow-man ſtudies Law,
And keeps thereby the Magiſtrates in Awe;
Will boldly tell them what they ought to do,
And ſometimes puniſh their Omiſſions too.

Their Liberty and Property's ſo dear,
They Scorn their Laws or Governours to fear:
So bugbear'd with the Name of Slavery,
They can't ſubmit to their own Liberty.
Reſtraint from Ill, is Freedom to the Wiſe;
But Engliſhmen *do all Reſtraint Deſpiſe.*
Slaves to the Liquor, Drudges to the Pots,
The Mob are Stateſmen, and their Stateſmen Sots.

Their Governours they count ſuch dangerous things,
That 'tis their Cuſtom to affront their Kings:
So jealous of the Power their Kings poſſeſs'd,
They ſuffer neither Power nor Kings to reſt.
The Bad with Force they eagerly ſubdue;
The Good with conſtant Clamours they purſue:
And did King Jeſus Reign, they'd murmur too.
A diſcontented Nation, and by far
Harder to Rule in Times of Peace than War:

Eaſily

Eaſily ſet together by the Ears,
And full of cauſeleſs Jealouſies and Fears:
Apt to Revolt, and willing to Rebel,
And never are contented when they're well.
No Government cou'd ever pleaſe them long,
Cou'd tie their Hands, or rectifie their Tongue.
In this to Ancient Iſrael *well compar'd,*
Eternal Murmurs are among them heard.

It was but lately that they were oppreſt,
Their Rights invaded, and their Laws ſuppreſt:
When nicely tender of their Liberty,
Lord! What a Noiſe they made of Slavery.
In daily Tumults ſhow'd their Diſcontent;
Lampoon'd their King, and mock'd his Government.
And if in Arms they did not firſt appear,
'Twas want of Force, and not for want of Fear.
In humbler Tone than *Engliſh* us'd to do,
At Foreign Hands, for Foreign Aid they ſue.

William, *the Great Succeſſor of* Naſſau,
Their Prayers heard, and their Oppreſſions ſaw:
He ſaw and ſav'd them: God and Him they prais'd;
To this their Thanks, to that their Trophies rais'd.
But glutted with their own Felicities,
They ſoon their New Deliverer Deſpiſe;
Say all their Prayers back, their Joy diſown,
Unſing their Thanks, and pull their Trophies down:
Their Harps of Praiſe are on the Willows hung;
For Engliſhmen *are ne'er Contented long.*

The

The Rev'rend Clergy too! and who'd ha' thought
That they who had such Non-Resistance taught,
Should e'er to Arms against their Prince be brought?
Who up to Heaven did Regal Pow'r advance;
Subjecting *English* Laws to Modes of *France*.
Twisting Religion so with Loyalty,
As one cou'd never Live, and t'other Die.
And yet no sooner did their Prince design
Their Glebes and Perquisites to undermine,
But all their Passive Doctrines laid aside;
The Clergy their own Principles deny'd:
Unpreach'd their Non-resisting Cant, and Pray'd
To Heaven for Help, and to the *Dutch* for Aid.
The Church chim'd all her Doctrines back again;
And Pulpit Champions did the Cause maintain;
Flew in the Face of all their former Zeal,
And Non-Resistance did at once repeal.

The *Rabbies* say it would be too prolix,
To tie Religion up to Politicks:
The Churches Safety is Suprema Lex.
And so by a new Figure of their own,
Their former Doctrines all at once disown.
As Laws *Post Facto* in the Parliament,
In urgent Cases have obtain'd Assent;
But are as dangerous Presidents laid by;
Made Lawful only by Necessity.

The Rev'rend Fathers then in Arms appear;
And Men of God became the Men of War.
The Nation, *Fir'd by them*, to Arms apply,
Assault their Antichristian Monarchy;

To their due Channel all our Laws reſtore,
And made things what they ſhou'd ha' been before.
But when they came to fill the Vacant Throne,
And the *Pale Prieſts* look'd back on what they'd done;
How *Engliſh* Liberty began to thrive,
And Church of *England* Loyalty out-Live:
How all their perſecuting Days were done,
And their Deliv'rer plac'd upon the Throne:
The Prieſts, *as Prieſts are wont to do*, turn'd Tail:
They're *Engliſhmen*, and *Nature will prevail.*
Now they deplore the Ruins they ha' made,
And murmur for the Maſter they betray'd.
Excuſe thoſe Crimes they cou'd not make him mend;
And ſuffer for the Cauſe they can't defend.
Pretend they'd not have carried things ſo high;
And Proto-Martyrs make for Popery.
Had the Prince done as they deſign'd the thing,
Ha' ſet the Clergy up to Rule the King;
Taken a *Donative* for coming hither,
And ſo ha' left their King and them together,
We had, ſay they, been now a happy Nation.
No doubt we 'd ſeen a Bleſſed Reformation:
For Wiſe Men ſay 't's as dangerous a thing,
A Ruling Prieſt-hood, as a Prieſt-rid King.
And of all Plagues with which Mankind are Curſt,
Eccleſiaſtick Tyranny's the worſt.

If all our former Grievances were feign'd,
King *James* has been abus'd, and we trapan'd;
Bugbear'd with Popery and Power Deſpotick,
Tyrannick Government, and Leagues Exotick:

The Revolution's a Phanatick Plot,
W—— a Tyrant, and K—— *J*—— was not:
A Factious Army, and a Poyson'd Nation,
Unjustly forc'd King *James*'s Abdication.

But if he did the Subjects Rights invade,
Then he was punish'd only, not betray'd;
And punishing of King's is no such Crime,
But Englishmen *ha' done it many a Time.*

When Kings the Sword of Justice first lay down,
They are no Kings, though they possess the Crown.
Titles are Shadows, Crowns are empty things,
The Good of Subjects is the End of Kings;
To guide in War, and to protect in Peace:
Where Tyrants once commence the Kings do cease:
For Arbitrary Power's so strange a thing,
It makes the *Tyrant*, and unmakes the King.

If Kings by Foreign Priests and Armies Reign,
And Lawless Power against their Oaths maintain;
Then Subjects must ha' reason to complain.
If Oaths must bind us when our Kings do Ill;
To call in Foreign Aid is to Rebel.
By force to circumscribe our Lawful Prince,
Is wilful Treason in the largest Sense:
And they who once Rebel, most certainly
Their God, and King, and former Oaths defy.
If we allow no Male-Administration
Could cancel the Allegiance of the Nation:
Let all our Learned Sons of *Levi* try,
This Eccles'astick Riddle to unty:

How they could make a Step to Call the Prince,
And yet pretend to Oaths and Innocence.

By th' first Address they made beyond the Seas,
They're Perjur'd in the most intense Degrees;
And without Scruple for the time to come,
May Swear to all the Kings in *Christendom.*
And truly did our Kings consider all,
They'd never let the Clergy swear at all:
Their Politick Allegiance they'd refuse;
For Whores and Priests will never want Excuse.

But if the *Mutual Contract* was dissolv'd,
The Doubts explain'd, the Difficulty solv'd:
That Kings when they descend to Tyranny,
Dissolve the Bond, and leave the Subject free.
The Government's ungirt, when Justice dies,
And Constitutions are Non-Entities.
The Nation's all a Mob, there's no such thing
As Lords or Commons, Parliament or King.
A great promiscuous Croud the Hydra lies,
Till Laws revive, and mutual Contract ties:
A Chaos free to chuse for their own share,
What Case of Government they please to wear:
If to a King they do the Reins commit,
All Men are bound in Conscience to submit:
But then that King must by his Oath assent
To *Postulata's* of the Government;
Which if he breaks, he cuts off the Entail,
And Power retreats to its Original.
This Doctrine has the Sanction of Assent,
From Nature's Universal Parliment.

The

The Voice of Nations, and the Course of Things,
Allow that Laws superior are to Kings.
None but Delinquents would have Justice cease,
Knaves rail at Laws, as Soldiers rail at Peace:
For Justice is the End of Government,
As Reason is the Test of Argument.

No Man was ever yet so void of Sense,
As to Debate the Right of Self-Defence,
A Principle so grafted in the Mind,
With Nature born, and does like Nature bind:
Twisted with Reason and with Nature too;
As neither one nor t'other can undo.

Nor can this Right be less when National;
Reason which governs one, should govern all.
Whate'er the Dialect of Courts may tell,
He that his Right Demands, can ne'er Rebel.
Which Right, if 'tis by Governours deny'd,
May be procur'd by Force, or Foreign Aid.
For Tyranny's a Nation's Term of Grief;
As Folks cry *Fire*, to hasten in Relief.
And when the hated Word is heard about,
All Men shou'd come to help the People out.

Thus *England* cry'd *Britannia's* Voice was heard;
And great *Nassau* to rescue her appear'd:
Call'd by the Universal Voice of Fate;
God and the Peoples Legal Magistrate.
Ye Heav'ns regard! Almighty *Jove*, look down,
And view thy injur'd Monarch on the Throne.

On their Ungrateful Heads due Vengeance take,
Who sought his Aid, and then his aid forsake.
Witness, ye Powers! It was our Call alone,
Which now our Pride makes us asham'd to own.
Britannia's troubles fetch'd him from afar,
To Court the dreadful Casualties of War:
But where Requital never can be made,
Acknowledgment's a Tribute seldom pay'd.

He dwelt in Bright *Maria*'s Circling Arms,
Defended by the Magick of her Charms,
From Foreign Fears, and from Domestick Harms.
Ambition found no Fuel for her Fire,
He had what God cou'd give, or Man desire.
Till *Pity* rowz'd him from his soft Repose:
His Life to unseen Hazards to expose;
Till *Pity* mov'd him in our Cause t' appear;
Pity! *That Word which now we hate to hear.*
But *English* Gratitude is always such,
To hate the Hand which does oblige too much.

Britannia's Cries gave Birth to his Intent,
And hardly gain'd his unforeseen Assent:
His boding Thoughts foretold him he should find
The People Fickle, Selfish and Unkind.
Which Thought did to his Royal Heart appear
More dreadful than the Dangers of the War:
For nothing grates a generous Mind so soon,
As base Returns for hearty Service done.

Satyr be silent, awfully prepare,
Britannia's Song, and *William*'s Praise to hear.

Stand

Stand by, and let her chearfully rehearse
Her Grateful Vows in her Immortal Verse.
Loud Fame's Eternal Trumpet let her sound:
Listen ye distant Poles, and endless Round.
May the strong Blast the welcome News convey
As far as Sound can reach, or Spirit can fly.
To *Neighb'ring Worlds*, if such there be, relate
Our Hero's Fame, for theirs to imitate.
To distant Worlds of Spirits let her rehearse:
For Spirits without the helps of Voice Converse.
May Angels hear the gladsome News on high,
Mix'd with their everlasting Symphony.
And Hell it self stand in Suspence to know,
Whether it be the Fatal Blast, or no.

BRITANNIA.

The Fame of Vertue 'tis for which I sound,
And Heroes with Immortal Triumphs Crown'd.
Fame built on solid Vertue swifter flies,
Than Morning-Light can spread my Eastern Skies.
The gath'ring Air returns the doubling Sound,
And loud repeating Thunders force it round:
Ecchoes return from Caverns of the Deep:
Old Chaos Dreams on't in Eternal Sleep.
Time hands it forward to its lateſt Urn,
From whence it never, never shall return;
Nothing is heard so far, or lasts so long;
'Tis heard by ev'ry Ear, and spoke by ev'ry Tongue.

My Hero, with the Sails of Honour Furl'd,
Rises like the Great Genius of the World.

By Fate and Fame wisely prepar'd to be
The Soul of War, and Life of Victory.
He spreads the Wings of Vertue on the Throne,
And ev'ry Wind of Glory *fans them on.*
Immortal Trophies dwell upon his Brow,
Fresh as the Garlands he has won but now.

By different Steps the high Assent he gains,
And differently that high Assent maintains.
Princes for Pride, and Lust, of Rule *make War;*
And struggle for the Name of Conqueror.
Some Fight for Fame, and some for Victory;
He Fights to Save, and Conquers to set Free.

Then seek no Phrase his Titles to conceal,
And hide with Words what Actions must reveal.
No Parallel from Hebrew *Stories take,*
Of God-like Kings my Similies to make:
No borrow'd Names conceal my living Theam;
But Names and Things directly I proclaim.
His honest Merit does his Glory raise;
Whom that Exalts, let no Man fear to Praise;
Of such a Subject no Man need be shy;
Vertue's above the Reach of Flattery.
He needs no Character, but his own Fame,
Nor any flattering Titles, but his own Name.
William's *the Name that's spoke by ev'ry Tongue;*
William's *the Darling Subject of my Song.*
Listen ye Virgins to the Charming Sound,
And in Eternal Dances hand it round:
Your early Offerings to this Altar bring;
Make him at once a Lover and a King.

May

May he ſubmit to none but to your Arms;
Nor ever be ſubdu'd, but by your Charms.
May your ſoft Thoughts for him be all Sublime;
And ev'ry tender Vow be made for him.
May he be firſt in ev'ry Morning-Thought,
And Heav'n ne'er hear a Pray'r, when he's left out.
May ev'ry Omen, ev'ry boding Dream,
Be Fortunate *by mentioning his Name;*
May this one Charm Infernal Powers affright,
And guard you from the Terrors of the Night.
May every chearful Glaſs, as it goes down,
To William's *Health,* be Cordials to your own;
Let ev'ry Song be Choruſt with his Name,
And Muſick pay her Tribute to his Fame.
Let ev'ry Poet tune his Artful Verſe,
And in Immortal Streins his Deeds rehearſe.
And may Apollo *never more inſpire*
The Diſobedient Bard with his Seraphick Fire.
May all my Sons their grateful Homage pay;
His Praiſes ſing, and for his Safety pray.

Satyr return to our Unthankful Iſle,
Secur'd by Heavens Regard, and *William's* Toil.
To both Ungrateful, and to both Untrue;
Rebels to God, and to Good Nature too.

If e'er this Nation be Diſtreſs'd again,
To whomſoe'er they cry, they'll cry in vain.
To Heav'n they cannot have the Face to look:
Or if they ſhould, it would but Heaven provoke.
To hope for Help from Man would be too much;
Mankind would always tell 'em of the Dutch:

How

How they came here our Freedoms to maintain,
Were *Paid*, and *Curs'd*, and *Hurry'd home again.*
How by their Aid we firſt diſſolv'd our Fears,
And then our Helpers damn'd for Foreigners.
'Tis not our *Engliſh* Temper to do better;
For *Engliſhmen* think ev'ry Man their Debtor.

'Tis worth obſerving, that we ne'er complain'd
Of Foreigners, nor of the Wealth they gain'd,
Till all their Services were at an end.
Wiſe Men affirm it is the *Engliſh* way,
Never to Grumble till they come to Pay;
And then they always think, their Temper's ſuch,
The Work too little, and the Pay too much.

As frighted Patients, when they want a Cure,
Bid any Price, and any Pain endure:
But when the Doctor's Remedies appear,
The Cure's too Eaſie, and the Price too Dear.

Great *Portland* ne'er was banter'd when he ſtrove
For Us his Maſter's kindeſt Thoughts to move.
We ne'er Lampoon'd his Conduct when employ'd
King *James*'s Secret Counſels to divide:
Then we careſs'd him as the only Man,
Which could the doubtful Oracle explain:
The only *Huſhai* able to repel
The dark Deſigns of our *Achitophel.*
Compar'd his Maſter's Courage, to his Senſe;
The Ableſt Stateſman, and the Braveſt Prince.

Ten

Ten Years in *English* Service he appear'd,
And gain'd his Master's, and the World's Regard:
But 'tis not England's *Custom to Reward.*
The Wars are over, *England* needs him not;
Now he's a *Dutchman*, and *the Lord knows what.*

Schonberg, the Ablest Soldier of his Age,
With *Great Nassau* did in our Cause engage:
Both joyn'd for *England*'s Rescue and Defence,
The greatest Captain, and the greatest Prince.
With what Applause his Stories did we tell?
Stories which *Europe*'s Volumes largely swell.
We counted him an Army in our Aid:
Where he commanded, no Man was afraid.
His Actions with a constant Conquest shine,
From *Villa-Vitiosa* to the *Rhine.*
France, Flanders, Germany, his Fame confess;
And all the World was fond of him, but Us.
Our Turn first serv'd, we grudg'd him the Command.
Witness the Grateful Temper of the Land!

We blame the K——— that he relies too much
On Strangers, *Germans*, *Hugonots*, and *Dutch*;
And seldom would his great Affairs of State,
To *English* Counsellors Communicate.
The Fact might very well be answer'd thus;
He has so often been betray'd by us,
He must have been a Madman to rely
On *English* Gentlemen's Fidelity.
For laying other Arguments aside,
This Thought might mortifie our *English* Pride,

That

That Foreigners have faithfully Obey'd him,
And none but *Engliſhmen* have e'er Betray'd him.
They have our Ships and Merchants bought and ſold,
And barter'd *Engliſh* Blood for Foreign Gold.
Firſt to the *French* they ſold our *Turky*-Fleet,
And Injur'd *Talmarſh* next, at *Camaret*.
The King himſelf is ſhelter'd from their Snares,
Not by his Merit, but the Crown he wears.
Experience tells us 'tis the *Engliſh* way,
Their Benefactors always to betray.

And leſt Examples ſhould be too remote,
A Modern Magiſtrate of Famous Note,
Shall give you his own Hiſtory by Rote.
I'll make it out, deny it he that can,
His Worſhip is a *True-Born-Engliſhman*,
In all the Latitude that empty Word
By Modern Acceptation's underſtood.
The Pariſh-Books his Great Deſcent Record,
And now he hopes ere long to be a Lord.
And truly as things go, it would be pity
But ſuch as he *ſhould Repreſent* the City:
While Robb'ry for Burnt-Offering he brings,
And gives to God what he has ſtole from Kings:
Great Monuments of Charity he raiſes,
And good St. Magnus *whiſtles out his Praiſes.*
To City-Goals he grants a Jubilee,
And hires Huzza's from his own Mobilee.

Lately he wore the Golden Chain and Gown,
With which Equipp'd, he thus harangu'd the Town.

His

His Fine Speech, &c.

With Clouted Iron Shoes, and Sheep-Skin Breeches,
More Rags than Manners, and more Dirt than Riches
From driving Cows and Calves to *Layton*-Market,
While of my Greatneſs there appear'd no Spark yet,
Behold I come, to let you ſee the Pride
With which Exalted Beggars always Ride.

Born to the Needful Labours of the Plow,
The Cart-Whip Grac'd me, as the Chain does now.
Nature and Fate in doubt what Courſe to take,
Whether I ſhou'd a Lord or Plough-Boy make;
Kindly at laſt reſolv'd they wou'd promote me,
And firſt *a Knave*, and then *a Knight* they Vote me.
What Fate appointed, Nature did prepare,
And furniſh'd me with an exceeding Care.
To fit me for what they deſign'd to have me;
And ev'ry Gift *but Honeſty* they gave me.

And thus Equipp'd, to this Proud Town I came,
In queſt of Bread, and not in queſt of Fame.
Blind to my future Fate, a humble Boy,
Free from the *Guilt and Glory* I enjoy.
The Hopes which my Ambition entertain'd,
Were in the Name of *Foot-Boy*, all contain'd.
The Greateſt Heights from Small Beginnings riſe;
The Gods were Great on Earth, before they reach'd the Skies.

B———*well*, the Generous Temper of whose Mind,
Was always to be bountiful inclin'd:
Whether by his ill Fate or Fancy led,
First took me up, and furnish'd me with Bread.
The little Services he put me to,
Seem'd Labours, rather than were truly so.
But always my Advancement he design'd;
For 'twas his very Nature to be kind.
Large was his Soul, his Temper ever free;
The best of Masters and of Men to me.
And I who was before decreed by Fate,
To be made Infamous as well as Great,
With an obsequious Diligence obey'd him,
Till trusted with his All, and then betray'd him,

All his past Kindnesses I trampled on,
Ruin'd his Fortunes to erect my own.
So Vipers in the Bosom bred, begin
To hiss at that Hand first which took them in.
With eager Treach'ry I his Fall pursu'd,
And my first Trophies were *Ingratitude.*

Ingratitude, the worst of Humane Guilt,
The basest Action Mankind can commit;
Which like the Sin against the Holy Ghost,
Has least of Honour, and of Guilt the most;
Distinguish'd from all other Crimes by this,
That 'tis a Crime which no Man will confess.
That Sin alone, which shou'd not be forgiv'n
On Earth, altho' perhaps it may in Heav'n.

Thus

Thus my first Benefactor I o'erthrew;
And how shou'd I be to a second true?
The Publick Trust came next into my Care,
And I to use them scurvily prepare:
My Needy Sov'reign Lord I play'd upon,
And lent him many a Thousand of his own;
For which great Int'rests I took care to Charge,
And so my ill-got Wealth became so large.

My Predecessor *Judas* was a Fool,
Fitter to ha' been whipt and sent to School,
Than Sell a Saviour: Had I been at Hand,
His Master had not been so cheap trapann'd;
I would ha' made the eager *Jews* ha' found,
For Thirty Pieces, Thirty thousand Pound.

My Cousin *Ziba*, of Immortal Fame,
(Ziba *and I shall never want a Name:*)
First-born of Treason, Nobly did advance
His Master's Fall, for his Inheritance.
By whose keen Arts old *David* first began
To break his sacred Oath to *Jonathan:*
The Good Old King 'tis thought was very loth
To break his Word, and therefore broke his Oath.
Ziba's a Traytor of some Quality,
Yet *Ziba* might ha' been inform'd by me:
Had I been there, he ne'er had been Content
With half th' Estate, nor half the Government.

In our late Revolution 'twas thought strange,
That I of all Mankind shou'd like the Change,

But

But they who wonder'd at it, never knew,
That in it I did my old Game purſue:
Nor had they heard of Twenty thouſand Pound.
Which never yet was loſt, nor ne'er was found.

Thus all things in their turn to Sale I bring,
God and my Maſter firſt, and then the King:
Till by ſucceſsful Villanies made Bold,
I thought to turn the Nation into Gold;
And ſo to Forg—-y my Hand I bent,
Not doubting I cou'd gull the Government;
But there was ruffl'd by the Parliament.
And if I ſcap'd the unhappy Tree to Climb,
'Twas want of Law, and not for want of Crime.

But my * *Old Friend*, who Printed in my Face *The Devil.
A needful Competence of *Engliſh* Braſs,
Having more Buſineſs yet for me to do,
And loth to loſe his truſty Servant ſo,
Manag'd the Matter with ſuch Art and Skill,
As ſav'd his Hero, and threw out the B——ll.

And now I'm Grac'd with unexpected Honours,
For which I'll certainly abuſe the Donors:
Knighted, and made a Tribune of the People.
Whoſe Laws and Properties I'm like to keep well!
The *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of the City,
And Captain of the Guards of their *Banditti*.
Surrounded by my Catchpoles, I declare
Againſt the Needy Debtor open War.
I Hang poor Thieves for ſtealing of your Pelf,
And ſuffer none to Rob you, but my ſelf.

The

The King Commanded me to help Reform ye,
And how I'll do't, Miss shall inform ye.
I keep the best Seraglio in the Nation,
And hope in time to bring it into Fashion.
No *Brimstone Whore* need fear the Lash from me,
That part I'll leave to Brother *Jeffery*,
Our Gallants need not go abroad to *Rome*,
I'll keep a Whoreing Jubilee at Home.
Whoring's the Darling of my Inclination;
A'n't I a Magistrate for Reformation?
For this my Praise is sung by ev'ry Bard,
For which *Bridewel* wou'd be a just Reward.
In Print my Panegyricks fill the Street,
And hired Goal-Birds their Huzza's Repeat.
Some Charities contriv'd to make a show,
Have taught the Needy Rabble to do so;
Whose empty Noise is a Mechanick Fame,
Since for Sir *Belzebub* they'd do the same.

The Conclusion.

THen let us boast of Ancestors no more,
Or Deeds of Heroes done in Days of Yore,
In latent Records of the Ages past,
Behind the Rear of Time, in long Oblivion plac'd.
For if our Virtues must in Lines descend,
The Merit with the Families would end:
And Intermixtures would most fatal grow;
For Vice would be Hereditary too;

The tainted Blood wou'd of Neceſſity,
In voluntary Wickedneſs convey.

Vice, like Ill-Nature, for an Age or two,
May ſeem a Generation to purſue:
But Virtue ſeldom does regard the Breed;
Fools do the Wiſe, and Wiſe Men Fools ſucceed.
What is't to us, what Anceſtors we had?
If Good, what better? Or what worſe, if Bad?
Examples are for Imitation ſet,
Yet all Men follow Virtue with Regret.

Cou'd but our Anceſtors retrieve their Fate,
And ſee their Off-ſpring thus Degenerate;
How we contend for Birth and Names unknown,
And Build on their paſt Actions, not our own;
They'd Cancel Records, and their Tombs Deface,
And openly diſown the Vile Degenerate Race:
For Fame of Families is all a Cheat,
'Tis Perſonal Virtue only makes us Great.

THE

THE Mock Mourners, A SATYR; By way of ELEGY on King *WILLIAM.*

TO THE QUEEN.

MADAM,

YOur *Majesty has so often declared Your just Concern for the Nation's Loss, and Your Value for the Memory of the late King: You have so publickly approv'd his Conduct, so visibly mov'd in the same Steps, and pursued the wise Measures of this* Your Glorious Ancestor, *that it cannot be thought displeasing to Your Majesty, to reprehend those who make a Mock at the Sorrow of Your Majesty and Three Nations.*

Your Majesty was the first who told us he could not be sufficiently lamented. *May those who are not of the same Mind find no Favour with Your Majesty, nor their Maker, till they repent that Sin against his Merit, and the Voice of their Native Country.*

Here are no Reflections upon Your Majesties Houshold, *or* Council, *or* Courts of Justice, *or* either House of Parliament, *and consequently no Offence against Your Royal Proclamation. 'Twou'd be an Affront to Your Majesty to imagine there were any under all those Heads of Your Government cou'd deserve the Reproof of the following* Satyr.

Your Majesty has an entire Possession of the Hearts of Your People, but their Affection is still the deeper rooted by that generous Sorrow you have express'd for the Loss of him to whom they owe the full Possession of their Liberty under Your Government.

How they can be faithful Subjects to Your Majesty that were not true Friends to such a King, is a Mystery out of humane Understanding, since the Happiness we enjoy by Your Government proceeds from his defending us against those who would not have had Your Majesty to Reign over us.

'Twould be a Crime against Your Majesty, which deserv'd no Pardon, to suggest you should be offended at that part of the Satyr *which points at our Immoralities: Your Majesty's Example, as well as Command, has encourag'd us all to* declare War *against Vice, and there we are sure of Your Royal Protection.*

For the rest, if an extraordinary Concern for the Glorious Memory of the late King has led the Author into any Excesses, he begs Your Majesty would place it to the Account of that just Passion *every honest Man retains for his extraordinary Merit; believing that no Man can have an Indifferency for the Memory of King* William, *and at the same time have any Desire for the Welfare of his Native Country.*

While Your Majesty pursues the true Interest of England, *the Protestant Religion, and the Welfare of* Europe, *as he did, you will have the same Enemies that he had, the same to oppose You abroad, and reproach You at home; but You will thereby engage all Your honest Subjects to adhere the firmer to their Duty, all Your Protestant Neighbours to depend upon Your Protection, and God shall Crown Your Majesty and these Nations with His Special Favour and Benediction.* Amen.

THE

THE
Mock Mourners, &c.

SUCH has been this Ill-Natur'd Nations Fate,
Always to see their Friends and Foes too late;
By Native Pride, and want of Temper led,
Never to value Merit till 'tis Dead:
And then Immortal Monuments they raise,
And Damn their former Follies by their Praise,
With just Reproaches Rail at their own Vice,
And Mourn for those they did before despise:
So they who *Moses* Government defied,
Sincerely sorrow'd for him when he Died.

And so when *Britain*'s Genius fainting lay,
Summon'd by Death, which Monarchs must obey:
Trembling, and Soul-less half the Nation stood,
Upbraided by their own Ingratitude.

They, who with true born Honesty before,
Grudg'd him the Trophies he so justly wore,
Were, with his Fate, more than himself dismay'd,
Not for their King, but for themselves afraid.
He had their Rights and Liberties restor'd,
In Battle purchas'd, and by Peace secur'd:

And they with *English* Gratitude began,
To feel the Favour and deſpiſe the Man.
But when they ſaw that his Protection ceas'd,
And Death had their Deliverer poſſeſt;
How Thunder-ſtruck they ſtood! What cries they rais'd!
They look't like Men Diſtracted and Amaz'd:
Their Terror did their Conſcious Guilt explain,
And wiſh't their injur'd Prince Alive again.
They Dream't of Halters, Gibbets and of Jails,
French Armies, Popery and Prince of *Wales*,
Deſcents, Invaſions, Uproars in the State,
Mobs, Iriſh Maſſacres, and God knows what
Imaginary Enemies appear'd,
And all they knew they Merited they Fear'd.

'Tis ſtrange that Pride and Envy ſhould prevail,
To make Men's Senſe as well as Vertue fail:
That where they muſt depend they ſhould abuſe,
And ſlight the Man they were afraid to loſe.

But *William* had not Govern'd Fourteen Year,
To be an unconcern'd Spectator here:
His Works like Providence were all Compleat,
Which made a Harmony we Wonder'd at.
The Legiſlative Power he ſet Free,
And led them ſtep by ſtep to Liberty,
'Twas not his Fault if they cou'd not Agree.
Impartial Juſtice He Protected ſo,
The Laws did in their Native Channels flow,
From whence our ſure Eſtabliſhment begun,
And *William* laid the firſt Foundation Stone:

On

On which the ſtately Fabrick ſoon appear'd,
How cou'd they ſink when ſuch a Pilot ſteer'd?
He taught them due defences to prepare,
And make their future Peace their preſent care:
By him directed, Wiſely they Decreed,
What Lines ſhou'd be expell'd, and what ſucceed;
That now he's Dead, there's nothing to be done,
But to take up the Scepter he laid down.

The Circle of this Order is ſo round,
So Regular as nothing can confound:
In Truth and Juſtice all the Lines commence,
And Reaſon is the vaſt Circumference:
William's the moving Centre of the whole,
'T had elſe a Body been without a Soul.
Fenc't with juſt Laws, impregnable it ſtands,
And will for ever laſt in *Honeſt Hands*,
For Truth and Juſtice are th' Immortal Springs,
Give Life to Conſtitutions and to Kings:
In either Caſe, if one of theſe decay,
Theſe can no more Command than thoſe obey:
Right is the only Fountain of Command,
The Rock on which Authority muſt ſtand.
And if executive Power ſteps awry,
On either hand it ſplits on Tyranny:
Oppreſſion is a Plague on Mankind ſent,
Infects the Vitals of a Government.
Convulſions follow, and ſuch Vapours riſe,
The Conſtitution Suffocates and Dies:
Law is the Grand ſpecific to reſtore,
And unobſtructed, never fails to Cure,

All other Remedies compar'd to that,
Are Tampering and Quacking with the State.

The Conſtitution's like a vaſt Machine,
That's full of curious Workmanſhip within:
Where tho' the parts unwieldly may appear,
It may be put in Motion with a Hair.
The Wheels are Officers and Magiſtrates,
By which the whole contrivance operates:
Laws are the Weights and Springs which make it move,
Wound up by Kings as Managers above;
And if they'r ſcrew'd too high or down too low,
The Movement goes too faſt or elſe too ſlow.
The Legiſlators are the Engineers,
Who when 'tis out of order make Repairs:
The People are the Owners, 'twas for them
The firſt Inventor drew the Ancient Scheme.
'Tis for their Benefit it works, and they
The Charges of maintaining it defray;
And if their Governours unfaithful prove,
They, Engineers or Managers remove,
Unkind Contention ſometimes there appears,
Between the Managers and Engineers;
Such ſtrife is always to the Owners wrong,
And once it made the work ſtand ſtill too long:
Till *William* came and loos'd the fatal Chain,
And ſet the Engineers to work again;
And having made the wondrous thing compleat,
To *Anne*'s unerring Hand he left the Helm of State.

Anne like *Eliſha* when juſt *William* went,
Receiv'd the Mantle of his Government;

And

And by Divine Conceſſion does inherit,
A Double Portion of his Ruling Spirit.
The Dying Hero loaded with Renown
Gave her the Nation's Bleſſing with the Crown,
From God, the People, and the Laws her own.
Told her that he had Orders from on High,
To lay aſide the Government and Dye;
What he had Fought for, gave her up in Peace,
And chear'd her Royal Heart with Proſpect of Succeſs.
While he, who Death in all its Shapes had ſeen,
With full Compoſure quiet and ſerene,
Paſſive and undiſorder'd at his Fate,
Quitted the *Engliſh* Throne without Regret.
No Conſcious Guilt diſturb'd his Royal Breaſt,
Calm as the Regions of Eternal Reſt;
Before his Life went out, his Heaven came in,
For all was bright without and clear within.
The bleſt Rewards did to his ſight appear;
The Paſſage eaſie, and the Proſpect near;
His parting Eye the gladſom Regions ſpied,
Juſt ſo, before his Dear Maria *Dyed.*

His High concern for *England* he expreſs'd,
England, the Darling of his Royal Breaſt.
The Tranſports of his parting Soul he ſpent,
Her diſunited Parties to Lament,
His Wiſhes then ſupplied his want of Power,
And Pray'd for them, for whom he Fought before,

Speak Envy, if you can, inform us what
Cou'd this unthankful Nation Murmur at?

But

But Diſcontent was always our Diſeaſe;
For *Engliſh-men* what Government can pleaſe?
We always had our Sons of *Belial* here,
Who knew no God nor Government to Fear:
No Wonder theſe diſlik'd his Gentle ſway,
Unwilling Homage to his Scepter Pay,
And only did for want of Power, Obey.

Some ſoft excuſe for them we might contrive,
Had he not been the Gentleſt Prince Alive:
Had he not born with an exalted Mind,
All that was diſobliging and unkind.
Peaceful and Tender Thoughts his Mind poſſeſt,
And High Superior Love conceal'd the reſt:
Our Diſcontents wou'd oft his Pity move,
But all his Anger was ſuppreſt by Love.
That Heaven-born Paſſion had ſubdu'd his Soul,
Poſſeſt the greateſt part, and Rul'd the whole:
This made him ſtrive his People to poſſeſs,
Which he had done, had he oblig'd 'em leſs.
He knew that Titles are but empty things,
And Hearts of Subjects are the Strength of Kings:
Juſtice and Kindneſs were his conſtant care,
He ſcorn'd to Govern Mankind by their Fear.

Their Univerſal Love he ſtrove to Gain,
'Twas hard that we ſhould make him ſtrive in vain:
That he ſhould here our *Engliſh* Humours find,
And we, *that he had ſav'd*, ſhou'd be unkind.
By all endearing Stratagems he ſtrove,
To draw us by the ſecret Springs of Love:

And

And when he could not Cure our Diſcontent,
It always was below him to Reſent.

Nature was never ſeen in ſuch exceſs,
All Fury when Abroad, at Home all Peace:
In War all Fire and Blood, in Peace enclin'd
To all that's Sweet and Gentle, Soft and Kind,
Ingratitude for this, muſt needs Commence,
In want of Honeſty, or want of Senſe.

When Kings to Luxury and Eaſe Reſign'd,
Their Native Country's juſt Defence declin'd;
This High-pretending Nation us'd to plead,
What they'd perform, had they a King to lead:
What wondrous Actions had by them been done,
When they had Martial Monarchs to lead on?
And if their Prince would but with *France* make War,
What Troops of *Engliſh* Heroes wou'd appear?

William the bottom of their Courage found,
Falſe like themſelves, meer emptineſs and ſound;
For call'd by Fate to Fight for *Chriſtendom*,
They ſent their King abroad, and *ſtaid at Home*;
Wiſely declin'd the hazards of the War,
To Nouriſh Faction and Diſorders here.
Wrapt in luxurious Plenty they Debauch,
And load their Active Monarch with Reproach:
Backward in Deeds, but of their Cenſures free,
And ſlight the Actions which they dare not ſee.
At Home they bravely teach him to Command,
And judge of what they are afraid to mend:

Againſt

Againſt the Hand that ſaves them they exclaim,
And curſe the Strangers, tho' they Fight for them.
Tho' ſome who wou'd excuſe the matter, ſay,
They did not grudge their Service, but their Pay:
Where are the Royal Bands that now advance,
To ſpread his dreadful Banners into *France?*
Britannia's Noble Sons her Intereſt fly,
And Foreign Heroes muſt their place ſupply;
Much for the Fame of our Nobility.
Poſterity will be aſham'd to hear,
Great *Britain's* Monarch did in Arms appear,
And ſcarce an Engliſh *Nobleman was there.*
Our Anceſtors had never Conquer'd *France,*
For Kingdoms ſeldom are ſubdu'd by Chance,
Had *Talbott, Vere,* and *Montacute* with-held,
The Glory, for the danger of the Field.
Had *Engliſh* Honeſty been kept alive,
The Ancient *Engliſh* Glory would ſurvive.
But Gallantry and Courage will decline,
Where Pride and all Confederate Vices joyn.
Had we kept up the Fame of former Years,
Landen had been as Famous as *Poictiers;*
Ormond and *Eſſex* had not Fought alone,
The only *Engliſh* Lords our Verſe can own:
The only Peers, of whom the World can ſay,
That they for Honour Fought, and not for Pay.

A Regimented *Few* we had indeed,
Who ſerv'd for neither Pride nor Fame, but Bread:
Some Bully L——s, *Protection P——s,* and ſome
Went out, becauſe they dare not ſtay at Home.

Loaded

Loaded with Noxious Vices they appear,
A ſcandal to the Nation and the War:
Heroes in Midnight-ſcuffles with the Watch,
And Lewd enough an Army to Debauch.
Fleſht with cool Murthers and from Juſtice fled,
Purſu'd by Blood, in Drunken Quarrels ſhed:
In vain they ſtrive with Bravery to appear,
For where there's Guilt, there always will be Fear.
Theſe are the Pillars of the *Engliſh* Fame,
Such Peers as Hiſtory muſt bluſh to Name.

When future Records to the World relate,
Marſaglia's Field and Gallant *Schomberg*'s Fate:
W——— *was Captive made,* it was ſevere,
Fate took the *Honeſt Man,* and left the *Peer.*
The World owes Fame for Ages long before,
To the great Stile of *W*——— which he bore:
But when we come the Branches to compare,
'T's a *Hero* Anceſtor, a *Bully* Heir:
The Vertues the Poſterity forſake,
And all their Gallant Blood is dwindl'd to a *Rake.*
More might be ſaid, but *Satyr* ſtay thy Rhimes,
And mix not his Misfortune with his Crimes;
We need not Rake the Aſhes of the Dead,
There's living Characters enough to Read.

How cou'd this Nation ever think of Peace?
Or how look up to Heaven for Succeſs?
While lawleſs Vice in Fleets and Camps appear'd,
And Oaths were louder than their Cannon heard:
No wonder *Engliſh Iſrael* has been ſaid,
Before the *French Philiſtine*'s Fleet t' ha' fled.

While

While *T——— Embrac'd with Whores* appear'd,
And Vice it ſelf the Royal Navy Steer'd.

William oppos'd their Crimes with ſteady Hand,
By his Example Firſt, and then Command,
Prompted the Laws their Vices to ſuppreſs,
For which no doubt the Guilty Lov'd him leſs.

Ye Sons of Envy, Railers at the Times,
Be bold like *Engliſhmen*, and own your Crimes:
For ſhame put on no Black, but let us ſee,
Your Habits always, and your Tongues agree:
Envy ne'er Bluſhes: Let it not be ſaid,
You Hate him Living, and you Mourn him Dead:
No Sorrow ſhow, where you no Love profeſs,
There are no Hypocrites in Wickedneſs.
Great Bonfires make, and tell the World y' are glad
Y'have loſt the greateſt Bleſſing e'er you had:
So Mad-Men ſing in Nakedneſs and Chains,
For when the Senſe is gone, the Song remains.
So Thankleſs *Iſrael*, when they were ſet free,
Reproacht the Author of their Liberty:
And wiſht themſelves in *Egypt* back again;
What pity 'twas they wiſht, or wiſht in vain?

Stop Satyr, let *Britannia* now relate
Her *William*'s Character, and her own Fate;
Let her to him a grateful Trophy raiſe,
She beſt can ſigh his Loſs, that ſung his Praiſe.

BRITANNIA.

BRITANNIA.

Of all my Sons by Tyranny bereft,
A Widow desolate and Childless left,
By Violence and Injury oppress,
To Heaven I cast my Eyes, and *sigh'd the rest*.
I need but sigh, for I was always heard,
And *William* on my welcome Shores appear'd.
With Wings of speed to rescue me he came,
And all my Sorrows vanisht into Flame.
New Joys sprung up, new Triumphs now abound,
And all my Virgin Daughters hear the sound:
Eternal Dances move upon my Plains,
And youthful Blood springs in my ancient Veins.
With open Arms I yielded my Embrace,
And *William* saw the Beauties of my Face.
He had before the knowledge of my Charms,
For he had my *Maria* in his Arms.
While he remain'd, I gave eternal Spring,
Made him my Son, my Darling, and my King;
While all the wondring World my Choice approve,
Congratulate his Fate, and justifie my Love.

Of *British* Blood, in *Belgian* Plains he liv'd,
My only Foreign Off-spring that surviv'd.
Batavian Climates nourisht him a while,
Too great a Genius for so damp a Soil:
And freely then surrendred him to me,
For wise Men freely will the Fates obey.
Yet in my *William* they had equal Share,
And he defended them with equal Care.

They

They were the early Trophies of his Sword;
His Infant Hand their Liberty restor'd.
His Nurse, that *Belgick* Lion, roar'd for Aid,
And planted early Lawrels on his Head.
His easie Victories amaz'd Mankind;
We wonder'd what the dreadful Youth design'd.
Fearless he Fought his Country to set Free,
And with his Sword Cut out their Liberty.
The Journals of his Actions always seem'd
So wonderful, as if the World had dream'd:
So swift, so full of Terror he went on,
He was a Conqueror before a Man.

The *Bourbon* Sword, tho' it was brighter far,
Yet drawn for Conquest, and oppressive War,
Had all the Triumphs of the World engrost,
But quickly all those Triumphs to him lost.
Justice to *William* early Trophies brought;
William *for Truth and Justice always fought:*

He was the very Mystery of War,
He gain'd by't when he was not Conqueror.
And if his Enemies a Battle won,
He might be beaten, they wou'd be undone.
Antæus like, from every Fall he rose,
Strengthen'd with double Vigour to oppose;
Those Actions Mankind judg'd Unfortunate,
Serv'd but as secret Steps to make him Great.
Then let them boast their Glory at *Landen*,
In vain th' Embattl'd Squadrons crowded in,
Their's was the Victory, the Conquest mine.

Of all the Heroes, Ages past adore,
Back to the first Great Man, and long before;
Tho' Virtue has sometimes with Valour join'd,
The Barren World no Parallel can find.

If back to *Israel*'s Tents I should retire,
And of the *Hebrew* Heroes there enquire,
I find no Hand did *Judah*'s Scepter wear,
Comes up to *William*'s Modern Character.
Namure's Gygantick Towers he o'erthrew;
David did less when he *Goliah* slew.
Here's no *Uriah*'s for Adult'ry slain,
Nor Oaths forgot to faithful *Jonathan*.
And if to *Jesse*'s Grandson we ha' recourse,
William his Wisdom had without his Whores.

Joshua might still ha' staid on *Jordan*'s Shore,
Must he, as *William* did the *Boyne*, pass o'er.
Almighty Power was forc'd to interpose,
And frighted both the Water and his Foes.
But had my *William* been to pass that Stream,
God needed not to part the Waves for him.
Not Forty thousand *Canaanites* cou'd stand;
In spight of Waves or *Canaanites* he'd land:
Such Streams ne'er stemm'd his Tide of Victory;
No, not the Stream; no, nor the Enemy.

His Bombs and Cannon wou'd ha' made the Wall,
Without the Help of Jewish Rams-Horns, fall.
When his dear *Israel* from their Foes had fled,
Because of stoln Spoils by *Achan* hid:

He'd

He'd ne'er, like *Joshua*, on the Ground ha' laid,
He'd certainly ha' fought as well as pray'd.

The Sun would rather ha' been thought to stay,
Amaz'd to see how soon he had won the Day,
Than to give time the *Canaanites* to slay.

The greatest Captains of the Ages past,
Debauch'd their Fame with Cruelty at last:
William the Tyrants only would subdue;
These conquer'd Kings, and then the People too:
The Subjects reap'd no Profit for their Pains,
And only chang'd their Masters, not their Chains;
Their Victories did for themselves appear,
And made their Peace as dreadful as the War:
But *William* fought Oppression to destroy,
That Mankind might in Peace the World enjoy.

The *Pompeys*, *Cæsars*, *Scipio's*, *Alexanders*,
Who croud the World with Fame, were great Com-
(manders:
These too brought Blood and Ruin with their Arms,
But *William* always fought on other Terms:
Terror indeed might in his Front appear,
But Peace and Plenty follow'd in his Rear:
And if Oppression forc'd him to contend,
Calmness was all his Temper, Peace his End:
He was the only Man we e'er saw fit
To regulate the World, or Conquer it.
Who can his Skill in Government Gainsay,
He that can *England's* brittle Scepter sway,
Where Parties too much Rule, and King's obey?

He

He always reign'd by Gentlenenſs and Love,
An Emblem of the Government above.

Vote me not Childleſs then in Chriſtendom,
I yet have Sons in my ſuſpended Womb;
And till juſt Fate ſuch due Proviſion makes,
A Daughter my Protection undertakes.
Crowns know no Sexes, and my Government
To either kind admits a juſt Deſcent.
Queens have to me been always fortunate,
E'er ſince my *Engliſh Phœnix* rul'd the State;
Who made my People rich, my Country great.
Satyr be juſt, and when we laſh their Crimes,
Mingle ſome Tears for *William* with our Rhimes.
Tho' Baſeneſs and Ingratitude appear,
Thank Heaven that we ha' weeping Millions here:
Then ſpeak our hearty Sorrows if you can,
Superior Grief in feeling Words explain:
Accents that wound, and all the Senſes numb,
And while they ſpeak may ſtrike the Hearer dumb;
Such Grief as never was for King before,
And ſuch as never, never ſhall be more.

See how Authority comes weeping on,
And view the Queen lamenting on his Throne.
With juſt regret ſhe takes the Sword of State,
Not by her Choice directed, but his Fate;
Accepts the ſad Neceſſity with Tears,
And mournfully for Government prepares.
The Peoples Acclamations ſhe receives
With ſadn'd Joy, and a Content that grieves.

View next the ſad Aſſemblies that appear,
To tell their Grief for Him, and Joy for Her.
The firſt confounds the laſt with ſuch Exceſs,
They hardly can their noble Thoughts expreſs.
Th' illuſtrious Troop addreſs her to condole,
And ſpeak ſuch Grief as wounds her to the Soul:
They lodge their Sorrows in the Royal Breaſt;
The Harbour where the Nation looks for Reſt.

Next theſe, the Repreſentatives ariſe,
With all the Nations Sorrow in their Eyes.
The Epithets they righteouſly apply
To the Reſtorer of their Liberty,
Are Tokens of their Senſe and Honeſty.
For as a Body we were always true,
But 'tis our Parties that our Peace undo.
Who can like them the Peoples Grief expreſs?
They ſhew her all the Tokens of Exceſs:
O'erwhelm'd with Sorrow, and ſuppreſt with Care,
They place the Nation's Refuge now in her.
Nothing but her Succeſſion could abate
The Nation's Sorrow for their Monarch's Fate:
And nothing but his Fate cou'd their true Joy
For her Succeſſion leſſen or deſtroy.

The Civil Sword to her, as Heaven ſaw fit,
With general Satisfaction they commit:
How can it in a Hand like hers miſcarry?
But who ſhall for us weild the Military?
Who ſhall the jarring Generals unite;
Firſt teach them to agree, and then to fight?

Who

VVho ſhall renown'd Alliances contrive,
And keep the vaſt Confederacies alive?
VVho ſhall the growing Gallick Force ſubdue?
'Twas more than all the VVorld, but him, cou'd do.

Sighs for departed Friends are ſenſeleſs things,
But 'tis not ſo when Nations mourn for Kings.
VVhen wounded Kingdoms ſuch a Loſs complain,
As Nature never can repair again;
The Tyrant Grief, like Love, obeys no Laws,
But blindly views th' Effect, and not the Cauſe.

Dark are the VVorks of Sovereign Providence,
And often claſh with our contracted Senſe.
But if we might with Heavens Decrees debate,
And of our Makers VVorks expoſtulate,
VVhy ſhould he form a Mind ſupremely great,
And to his Charge commit the Reins of Fate,
And at one haſty Blow the VVorld defeat?
A Blow ſo ſudden, ſo ſevere and ſwift,
VVe had no time for Supplication left:
As if Almighty Power had been afraid,
Such Prayers would by ſuch Multitudes be made;
Such *Moſes*'s wou'd to his Altars go,
To whom he never did, or would ſay no;
He hardly could know how to ſtrike the Blow.

For Prayers ſo much the Sovereign Power commands,
Ev'en God himſelf ſometimes as conquer'd ſtands,
And calls for Quarter at the VVreſtler's Hands.

How Strenuous then had been the Sacred Strife,
VVhile all the kneeling VVorld had begg'd his Life,
VVith all that Earneſtneſs of Zeal, and more
Than ever Nation begg'd for King before?
See how the neighbouring Lands his Fame improve,
And by their Sorrows teſtifie their Love;
Sprinkle his Memory with grateful Tears,
And hand his Glory to ſucceeding Years.

VVith what Contempt will *Engliſh* Men appear,
VVhen future Ages read his Character?
They'll never bear to hear in time to come,
How he was lov'd abroad, and ſcorn'd at home.
The VVorld will ſcarce believe it cou'd be true,
And Vengeance muſt ſuch Inſolence purſue.
Our Nation will by all Men be abhorr'd,
And *William*'s juſter Fame be ſo reſtor'd.

Poſterity, when Hiſtories relate
His Glorious Deeds, will ask, *What Giant's that?*
For common Vertues may Mens Fame advance,
But an immoderate Glory turns Romance.
Its real Merit does its ſelf undo,
Men talk it up ſo high, it can't be true:
So *William*'s Life, encreas'd by doubling Fame,
VVill drown his Actions to preſerve his Name.
The Annals of his Conduct they'll reviſe,
As Legends of Impoſſibilities.
'Twill all a Life of Miracles appear,
Too great for Him to do, or Them to hear.

And if some faithful VVriter shou'd set down
With what Uneasiness he wore the Crown;
VVhat thankless Devil had the Land possest;
This will be more prodigious than the rest.
VVith Indignation 'twill their Minds inspire,
And raise the Glory of his Actions higher.
The Records of their Fathers they'll Deface,
And blush to think they sprung from such a Race.
They'll be asham'd their Ancestors to own,
And strive their Father's Follies to atone.
New Monuments of Gratitude they'll raise,
And Crown his Memory with Thanks and Praise.

Thou, Satyr, shalt the grateful Few rehearse,
And solve the Nations Credit in thy Verse;
Embalm his Name with Characters of Praise,
His Fame's beyond the Power of Time to raze.

From him let future Monarchs learn to Rule,
And make his lasting Character their School.
For he who wou'd in time to come to be Great,
Has nothing now to do but imitate.
Let dying Parents when they come to bless,
With to their Children only his Success.
Here their Instructions very well may end,
William's Example only recommend,
And leave the Youth his History t'attend.

But we have here an Ignominious Crowd,
That boast their Native Birth and *English* Blood,
Whose Breasts with Envy and Contention burn,
And now rejoice when all the Nations mourn:

Their awkward Triumphs openly they Sing;
Insult the Ashes of their injur'd King;
Rejoice at the Disasters of his Crown;
And Drink the Horse's Health that threw him down.

Blush, Satyr, when such Crimes we must reveal,
And draw a silent Curtain to conceal.
Actions so vile shall ne'er debauch our Song;
Let Heaven alone, tho' Justice suffers long.
Her Leaden VVings, and Iron Hands, may show
She will be certain, tho' she may be slow.
His Foreign Birth was made the Fam'd Pretence,
VVhich gave our Home-Born *English*men Offence.
But Discontent's the antient *English* Fashion,
The Universal Blemish of the Nation.
And 'tis a Question, whether God could make
That King whom every *Englishman* would *like*?
Nor is it any Paradox to say,
VVilliam *had more of* English *Blood than they*;
The *Royal Life* flow'd in his sprightly Veins,
The same that in the *Noble Stock* remains;
The same which now his Glorious Scepter weilds,
To whom three Nations just Obedience yeilds.
ANNE, the remaining Glory of our Isle,
VVell she becomes the Royal *English* Stile:
In *William*'s Steps sedately she proceeds,
VVilliam's *a Pattern to Immortal Deeds.*
Preserves his Memory with generous Care;
Forgetting him is Disobliging her;
VVhere shall the murmuring Party then appear!

VVhere

VVhere wou'd the Nation, but for her, ha' found
So ſafe a Cure for ſuch a ſudden VVound?
And cou'd ſhe but as well the Camp ſupply,
The VVorld the ſooner wou'd their Grief lay by:
But there the fatal Breach is made ſo wide,
That Loſs can never, never be—ſupply'd.

Ye Men of Arms, and *Engliſh* Sons of VVar,
Now learn from him how you may Fight for her;
Your Grief for him expreſs upon her Foes,
For VVilliam *lov'd ſuch Funeral Tears as thoſe.*

'Tis *William*'s Glorious Scepter which ſhe bears,
Like *William* ſhe for Liberty appears.
She Mounts to Honour by the Steps of Truth,
And his Example Imitates in Both.
'Tis you muſt make her blooming Fame Increaſe,
'Tis you muſt bring her Honour, VVealth and Peace:
And let it once more to the VVorld be ſeen,
Nothing can make us Greater than a Queen.

THE

Reformation of *Manners*:

A

SATYR.

THE PREFACE.

NO *Man is qualified to reprove other Mens Faults but he that has none of his own*, ſay ſome People who are loath to be told of their Errors; *and 'tis on this Account only that the World has the Trouble of a* Preface.

If that be true, the Author freely acknowledges he is the moſt unqualified Man in the World to reprove.

That no Man is qualified to reprove other Mens Crimes, who allows himſelf in the Practice of the ſame, is very readily granted, and is the very Subſtance and Foundation of the following Satyr: *And on that ſcore, the Author has as good a Title to Animadverſion as another, ſince no Man can charge him with any of the Vices he has reproved.*

But inſtead of Self-defence, he is rather willing to look back on the beſt Actions of his Life with the Temper of a Penitent, and he wiſhes all Men wou'd do the like; 'tis the only Way to make the Satyr *Impertinent.*

For

For Penitence would all his Verse disarm;
The *Satyr*'s answer'd if the Men reform.

But the Fact is not true neither: 'Tis a pretty Way for Men to get rid of the Impertinence of Admonition. If none but faultless Men must reprove others, the Lord ha' Mercy upon all our Magistrates; and all our Clergy are undignified and suspended at a Blow.

Nor does the Satyr *assault private Infirmity, or pursue Personal Vices; but is bent at those, who pretending to suppress Vice, or being vested with Authority for that purpose, yet make themselves the Shame of their Country, encouraging Wickedness by that very Authority they have to suppress it.*

He professes himself sorry, either that Freedom of Speech is so dangerous in this Age, or that he is too much a Coward; otherwise, some had heard of their Crimes who think themselves above the Power of Punishment.

'Tis hard that Vice should have so much shelter from Civil Power; that Reproof should lead the Party to suppress the Poet rather than the Crime.

And yet his Friends give him over for lost: An Account of what he has ventur'd to say, to whose Importunity he thinks himself oblig'd to answer with Juvenal,

Difficile est Satyram non scribere. Nam quis Iniquæ
Tam Patiens Urbis, tam ferreus ut teneat se?

If any Man is Injur'd by the Characters, he is content they should carry their Resentment to what Extremity they please; but if Truth may be on his side, the only Way to make him do them Justice is to reform: And he promises to give Testimony to their Repentance, as an Annand Honourable *in a manner as publick as possible.*

Refor-

Reformation of *Manners.*

HOW long may Heaven be banter'd by a Nation,
With broken Vows, and Shams of Reformation,
And yet forbear to ſhew its Indignation?

Tell me ye Sages, who the Conſcience guide,
And Eccleſiaſtick Oracles divide,
Where do the Bounds of Sovereign Patience end?
How long may People undeſtroy'd offend?
What Limits has Almighty Power prepar'd,
When Mercy ſhall be deaf, and Juſtice heard?

If there's a Being Immortal and Immenſe,
VVho does Rewards and Puniſhments diſpenſe,
VVhy is he Paſſive when his Power's defy'd,
And his Eternal Government's deny'd?
Tell us why he that ſits above the Sky,
Unreigns no Vengeance, lets no Thunders fly,
VVhen Villains proſper, and ſucceſsful Vice
Shall human Power controul, and heavenly Power deſpiſe?

If 'tis becauſe the Sins of ſuch a Nation,
Are yet too ſmall to conquer his Compaſſion,
Then tell us to what height Mankind may ſin,
Before Celeſtial Fury muſt begin?

How

How their extended Crimes may reach ſo high,
Vengeance muſt follow, and of courſe deſtroy;
And by the common Chain of Providence,
Deſtruction come like Cauſe and Conſequence?

Then ſearch the dark *Arcana* of the Skies,
And, *if ye can*, unfold theſe Myſteries:
The claſhing Providences reconcile,
The partial Frown, and the unequal Smile.
Tell us why ſome have been deſtroy'd betimes,
While *Albion*'s glittering Shores grow black with Crimes?
Why ſome for early Errors are undone,
Some *longer ſtill, and longer* ſtill, ſin on?
England with all her blackening Guilt is ſpar'd,
And *Sodom*'s leſſer Crimes receiv'd a ſwift Reward?
And yet all this be reconcil'd to both,
Impartial Juſtice, and unerring Truth.

Why *Oſtia* ſtands, and no revenging Hand
Has yet diſmiſt her from the burthen'd Land:
No Plague, no ſulpherous Shower her *Exit* makes,
And turns her Silver *Thames* to *Stygian* Lakes,
Whoſe uninhabitable Banks might flow
With Streams as black as her that made 'em ſo:
And as a Monument to future Times,
Should ſend forth Vapours nauſeous as her Crimes?
Tell us why *Carthage* fell a Prey to *Rome*,
And mourn the Fate of bright *Byzantium*?
Why antient *Troy*'s embrac'd by Deſtiny,
And *Rome*, Immortal *Rome*, to Fate gives way,
Yet *Oſtia* ſtands, more impious far than they?

Where are the Golden Gates of *Paleſtine*,
Where High Superior Glory us'd to ſhine?
The mighty City Millions dwelt within,
Where Heaven's Epitome was to be ſeen;
God's Habitation, Sacred to his Name,
Magnificent beyond the Voice of Fame:
Thoſe lofty Pinnacles which once were ſeen
Bright, like the Majeſty that dwelt within;
In which Seraphick Glory could reſide,
Too great for humane Viſion to abide;
VVhoſe glittering Fabrick, *God* the Architect,
The Sun's leſs Glorious Light did once reject?

Theſe all ha' felt the Iron Hands of Fate,
And Heaven's dear Darling City's deſolate.
No more the ſacred Place commands our Awe,
But all's become a Curſe, a *Golgotha*.
The Reverend Pile can ſcarce its Ruins ſhow,
Forſook by him whoſe Glory made it ſo.

Yet *Oſtia* ſtands, her impious Towers defie
The threatning Comets of the blazing Sky;
Foreboding Signs of Ruin ſhe deſpiſes,
And all her teaching Saviour's Sacrifices;
The *Jews* are Fools, *Jeruſalem*'s out-done;
We crucifie the Father, they the Son.

Within her Reprobate Gates there are allow'd
Worſe *Jews* than thoſe which crucified their God:
They kill'd a Man, for they ſuppos'd him ſo;
Theſe boldly ſacrifice the God they know,

His

His Incarnation Miracles deny,
And vilely Banter his Divinity;
Their old Impoſtor, *Socinus*, prefer,
And the long Voyage of Heaven without a Pilot ſteer.

Yet *Oſtia* boaſts of her Regeneration,
And tells us wondrous Tales of Reformation;
How againſt Vice ſhe has been ſo ſevere,
That none *but Men of Quality* may Swear:
How Publick Lewdneſs is expell'd the Nation,
That *Private Whoring* may be more in Faſhion.
How Pariſh Magiſtrates, like Pious Elves,
Let none be Drunk a *Sundays but themſelves.*
And Hackney-Coach-men durſt not Ply the Street
In Sermon-time, *till they had paid the State.*

Theſe, *Oſtia*, are the Shams of Reformation,
With which thou mock'ſt thy Maker, and the Nation;
VVhile in thy Streets unpuniſh'd there remain
Crimes which have yet inſulted Heaven in vain;
Crimes which our Satyr bluſhes to review,
And Sins thy Siſter *Sodom* never knew:
Superior Lewdneſs Crowns thy Magiſtrates,
And Vice grown grey, uſurps the Reverend Seats;
Eternal Blaſphemies and Oaths abound,
And Bribes among thy Senators are found.
Old Venerable *Jeph*, with trembling Air,
Ancient in Sin, and Father of the Chair,
Forſook by Vices he had lov'd ſo long,
Can now be vicious only with his Tongue;
Yet talks of antient Lewdneſs with delight,
And loves to be the Juſtice of the Night:

On

On Baudy Tales with pleaſure he reflects,
And lewdly ſmiles at Vices he corrects.
The feeble tottering Magiſtrate appears,
VVilling to VVickedneſs in ſpite of Years;
Struggles his Age and Weakneſs to reſiſt,
And fain would ſin, but Nature won't aſſiſt.

L——l, the *Pandor* of thy Judgment-Seat,
Has neither Manners, Honeſty, nor VVit;
Inſtead of which, he's plenteouſly ſupply'd
VVith Nonſenſe, Noiſe, Impertinence, and Pride;
Polite his Language, and his flowing Stile,
Scorns to ſuppoſe Good Manners worth his while;
With Principles from Education ſtor'd,
Th' Drudgery of Decency abhorr'd:
The *City Mouth*, with Eloquence endu'd,
To Mountebank the liſt'ning Multitude;
Sometimes he tunes his Tongue to ſoft Harangues,
To banter Common Halls, and flatter Kings:
And all but with an odd indifferent Grace,
With Jingle on his Tongue, and Coxcomb in his Face;
Definitive in Law, without Appeal,
But always ſerves the Hand who pays him well:
He trades in Juſtice, and the Souls of Men,
And proſtitutes them equally to Gain:
He has his Publick Book of Rates to ſhow,
Where every Rogue the Price of Life may know:
And this one Maxim always goes before,
He never hangs the Rich, nor ſaves the Poor.
God-like he nods upon the Bench of State;
His Smiles are Life, and if he Frown 'tis Fate:

Boldly

Boldly invading Heaven's Prerogative;
For with his Breath he kills, or ſaves alive.
Fraternities of Villains he maintains,
Protects their Robberies, and ſhares the Gains,
Who thieve with Toleration as a Trade,
And then reſtore according as they're paid:
With awkward ſcornful Phiz, and vile Grimace,
The genuine Talents of an ugly Face;
With haughty Tone inſults the Wretch that dies,
And ſports with his approaching Miſeries.

F——e, for ſo ſometimes unrighteous Fate,
Erects a Mad-man for a Magiſtrate;
Equipt with Leudneſs, Oaths, and Impudence,
Supplies with Vices his defect of Senſe;
Abandon'd to ill Manners, he retains
His want of Grace, as well as want of Brains.
Before the Boy wore off, the Rake began;
The Bully then commenc'd, and then the Man.
Yet Nature ſeems in this to do him wrong,
To give no Courage with a ſaucy Tongue;
From whence this conſtant Diſadvantage flows,
He always gives the Words, and takes the Blows;
Tho' often Can'd, he's uninſtructed by't;
But ſtill he ſhews the Scoundrel with the Knight,
Still ſcurrilous, and ſtill afraid to Fight.
His Dialect's a *Modern Billingſgate*,
Which ſuits *the Hoſier*, not the Magiſtrate;
The ſame he from behind the Counter brought,
And yet he practis'd worſe than he was taught;
Early debauch'd, in Satan's Steps he mov'd,
And all Mechanick Vices he improv'd:

At first he did his Sovereign's Rights invade,
And rais'd his Fortunes by clandestine Trade:
Stealing of Customs did his Profits bring;
And 'twas his Calling to defraud his King:
This is the Man that helps to Rule the State,
The City's New-reforming Magistrate,
To execute the Justice of the Law,
And keep less Villains than himself in Awe;
Take Money of the Rich, and hang the Poor,
And lash the Strumpet he debauch'd before.
So for small Crimes poor Thieves Destruction find,
And leaves the Rogues of Quality behind.

Search all the Christian Climes from Pole to Pole,
And match for Sheriffs *S——ple* and *C——le*;
Equal in Character and Dignity,
This fam'd for Justice, that for Modesty:
By Merit chosen for the Chair of State,
This fit for *Bridewel*, that for *Billingsgate*;
That richly clad to grace the gaudy Day,
For which his Father's Creditors must pay:
This from the fluxing *Bagnio* just dismist,
Rides out to make himself the City Jest;
From some *lascivious Dish Clout* to the Chair,
To punish Leudness and Disorders there:
The Brute he rides on wou'd his Crimes detest,
For that's the Animal, and this the Beast:
And yet some Reformation he began,
For Magistrates ne'er bear the Sword in vain.
Expensive Sinning always he declin'd;
To *frugal whoring* totally resign'd:

His

His Avarice his Appetite oppreſt,
Baſe like the Man, and brutiſh like the Luſt:
Conciſe in Sinning, Nature's Call ſupplied,
And in one Act two Vices gratified.
Never was Oyſter, Beggar, Cinder, Whore,
So much careſs'd by Magiſtrate before:
They that are nice and ſqueamiſh in their Luſt,
A ſign the Vice is low, and wants a Guſt:
But he that's perfect in th' Extreme of Vice,
Scorns to excite his Appetite by Price.
Our Reformation in his Reign began,
And ſet the Devil up to mend the Man.
More might be ſaid, but, Satyr, ſtay thy Rhimes,
And mix not his Misfortune with his Crimes.

C——*n* ſuperbly wiſe and grave of Life,
Could every one reform, except his Wife:
Paſſive in Vice, he Pimps to his own Fate,
To ſhew himſelf a Loyal Magiſtrate.
'Tis doubtful who debauch'd the City more,
The Maker of the Maſque, or of the Whore.
Nor's his Religion leſs a Maſquerade;
He always drove a ſtrange myſterious Trade;
With decent Zeal to Church he'll gravely come,
To praiſe that God which he denies at Home.
Socinian T——d's his dear Ghoſtly Prieſt,
Who taught him all Religion to digeſt;
Took prudent Care he ſhou'd not much profeſs,
And he was ne'er addicted to Exceſs;
And yet he *Covets* without Rule or End,
Will ſell his Wife, his Maſter, or his Friend;

To boundleſs Avarice a conſtant Slave,
Unſatisfy'd as Death, and greedy as the Grave.

Now, Satyr, let us view the numerous Fry
That muſt ſucceeding Magiſtrates ſupply,
And ſearch if future Years are like to be
Much better taught, or better rul'd, than we.

The Senators of Hoſpital Deſcent,
The upper Houſe of *Oſtia*'s Parliament,
Who from Deſtruction ſhould their City ſave,
But are as wicked as they ſhould be grave:
With Citizens *in Petto*, who at need,
As theſe do thoſe, ſo thoſe muſt theſe ſucceed.
D———b, the Modern *Judas* of the Age,
Has often try'd in vain to mount the Stage;
Profuſe in Gifts and Bribes to God and Man,
To ride the City Horſe, and wear the Chain,
His Vices, *Oſtia*, thou haſt made thy own,
In chuſing him, thou writ'ſt thy own Lampoon:
Fancy the haughty Wretch in Chair of State,
At once the City's Shame and Magiſtrate,
At Table ſet, at his right Hand a Whore,
Ugly as thoſe which he had kept before;
He to do Juſtice, and reform our Lives,
And *She* receive the Homage of our Wives.

Now, Satyr, give another Wretch his Due,
Who's choſen to reform the City too;
Hate him ye Friends to Honeſty and Senſe,
Hate him in injur'd Beauty's juſt Defence;

A Knighted Booby Insolent and Base,
" *Whom Man no Manners gave, nor God no Grace;*
The Scorn of Women, and the Shame of Men,
Matcht at threescore, to innocent Fifteen,
Hag-rid with jealous Whimsies let us know,
He thinks he's Cuckold *'cause he should be so:*
His vertuous Wife exposes to the Town,
And fears her Crimes because he knows his own.

Here, Satyr, let them just Reproach abide,
Who sell their Daughters to oblige their Pride;
The Ch——er——n begins the doleful Jest,
As a *Memento Mori* to the rest;
Who fond to raise his Generation by't,
And see his Daughter buckl'd to a Knight,
The Innocent unwarily beray'd,
And to the Rascal join'd the hapless Maid;
The Purchase is too much below the Cost,
For while the Lady's gain'd, the Woman's lost.

What shall we say to common Vices now,
When Magistrates the worst of Crimes allow?
Ostia, if e'er thou wilt reform thy Gates,
'T must be another Set of Magistrates:
In Practice just, and in profession sound;
But God knows where the Men are to be found.
In all thy numerous Streets its hard to tell,
Where the few Men of Faith and Honour dwell:
Poor and despised so seldom they appear,
The *Cynick's* Lanthorn would be useful here.

No City in the ſpacious Univerſe
Boaſts of Religion more, or minds it leſs;
Of Reformation talks, and Government,
Backt with an Hundred Acts of Parliament:
Thoſe uſeleſs Scare-Crows of neglected Laws,
That miſs th' Effect by miſſing firſt the Cauſe:
Thy Magiſtrates, who ſhould reform the Town,
Puniſh the Poor Mens Faults, but hide their own.
Suppreſs the Players Booths in *Smithfield Fair*,
But leave the *Cloyſters*, for their Wives are there,
Where all the Scenes of Leudneſs do appear.

Satyr, the Arts and Myſteries forbear,
Too black for thee to write, or us to hear:
No Man, but he that is as vile as they,
Can all the Tricks and Cheats of Trade ſurvey.
Some in Clandeſtine Companies combine,
Erect new Stocks to Trade beyond the Line:
With Air and empty Names beguile the Town,
And raiſe new Credits firſt, then cry 'em down:
Divide the *empty nothing* into Shares,
To ſet the Town together by the Ears.
The Sham Projectors and the Brokers join,
And both the Cully Merchant undermine;
Firſt he muſt be drawn in, and then betray'd,
And they demoliſh the Machine they made:
So conjuring Chymiſts, with their Charm and Spell,
Some wondrous Liquid wondrouſly exhale;
But when the gaping Mob their Money pay,
The Cheat's Diſſolv'd, the Vapour flies away:
The wond'ring Bubbles ſtand amaz'd to ſee
Their Money Mountebank'd to *Mercury*.

Some

Some fit out Ships, and double Fraight enſure,
And burn the Ships to make the Voyage ſecure;
Promiſcuous Plunders thro' the World commit,
And *with the Money* buy their ſafe Retreat.

Others ſeek out to *Africk*'s Torrid Zone,
And ſearch the burning Shores of *Serralone*:
There in unſufferable Heats *they fry*,
And run vaſt Riſques to ſee the Gold, *and die*.
The harmleſs Natives baſely they trepan,
And barter Baubles for the *Souls of Men*;
The Wretches they to Chriſtian Climes bring o'er,
To ſerve worſe Heathens than they did before.
The Cruelties they ſuffer there are ſuch,
Amboyna's nothing, they've out-done the *Dutch*.

Cortez, *Pizarro*, *Guzman*, *Penaloe*,
Who drank the Blood and Gold of *Mexico*,
Who thirteen Millions of Souls deſtroy'd,
And left one third of God's Creation void,
By Birth for Nature's Butchery deſign'd,
Compar'd to theſe are merciful and kind;
Death could *their* cruelleſt Deſigns fulfil,
Blood quench'd *their* Thirſt, and it ſuffic'd to kill:
But theſe the tender *Coup de Grace* deny,
And make Men beg in vain for leave to die;
To more than *Spaniſh* Cruelty inclin'd,
Torment the Body, and debauch the Mind:
The ling'ring Life of Slavery preſerve,
And vilely teach them both to Sin and ſerve.
In vain they talk to them of Shades below,
They fear no Hell *but where ſuch Chriſtians go*;

Of *Jesus Christ* they very often hear,
Often as his Blaspheming Servants Swear;
They hear and wonder what strange Gods they be,
Can bear with Patience such Indignity:
They look for Famines, Plagues, Disease and Death,
Blasts from above, and Earthquakes from beneath:
But when they see regardless Heaven looks on,
They curse our Gods, or think that we have none.
Thus thousands to Religion are brought o'er,
And made worse Devils than they were before.

Satyr, the Men of *Drugs* and *Simples* spare,
'Tis hard to search the latent Vices there;
Their *Theologicks* too they may defend,
They can't deceive who never did pretend.
As to Religion, generally they show
As much as their Profession will allow:
But count them all Confederates of Hell,
Till *Bla——bourn* they with one consent expel.
B—— our Satyr startles at his Name,
The College Scandal, and the City's Shame:
Not satisfy'd his Maker to deny,
Provokes him with Lampoon and Blasphemy;
And with unprecidented Insolence
Banters a God, and scoffs at Providence.

No Nation in the World, but ours, would bear
To hear a Wretch Blaspheme the Gods they fear:
His Flesh long since their Altars had adorn'd,
And with his Blood appeas'd the Powers he scorn'd.
But see the Badge of our Reforming Town,
Some cry Religion up, some cry it down;

Some

Some Worſhip God, and ſome a God defie,
With Equal Boldneſs, equal Liberty;
The ſilent Laws decline the juſt Debate,
Made dumb by the more *ſilent Magiſtrate*;
And both together ſmall diſtinction put
'Twixt him that owns a God, and him that owns him not.
The Modern Crime 'tis thought no being had,
They knew no Atheiſt when our Laws were made.
'Tis hard the Laws more Freedom ſhould allow
With God above than Magiſtrates below.
B——— unpuniſh'd, may Hay Heaven and Earth defie,
Dethrone Almighty Power, Almighty Truth deny,
Burleſque the Sacred, High, *Unutter'd Name*,
And impious War with *Jove* himſelf proclaim,
While Juſtice unconcern'd looks calmly on,
And *B*——— boaſts the Conqueſts he has won;
Inſults the Chriſtian Name, and laughs to ſee
Religion Bully'd by Philoſophy.
B——— with far leſs hazard may blaſpheme,
Than thou may'ſt, *Satyr*, trace thy noble Theme;
The Search of Vice more Hazard repreſents
From Laws, from Councils, and from P———
Thou may'ſt be wicked, and leſs danger know,
Than by informing others they are ſo:
Thou canſt no P——, no Counſellor, expoſe,
Or dreſs a vicious M——r in his proper Cloaths,
But all the Bombs and Canon of the Law,
Are ſoon drawn out to keep thy Pen in awe;
By Laws *Poſt Facto* thou may'ſt ſoon be ſlain,
And *Innuendo*'s ſhall thy Guilt explain.

Thou

Thou may'ſt Lampoon, and no Man will reſent,
Lampoon but Heaven, and not the P——.
Our Truſties and our Well-belov'ds forbear,
Thou'rt free to banter Heaven, and all that's there;
The boldeſt Flights thou'rt welcome to beſtow
O'th' Gods above, but not the Gods below.

Bla—bourn may banter Heaven, and *A——l* Death,
And *T——d* Poiſon Souls with his infected Breath,
No Civil Government reſents the Wrong,
But all are touch'd and angry at thy Song.

Thy Friends without the help of Propheſie,
Read Goals and Gibbets in thy Deſtiny;
But *Courage ſprings from Truth*, let it appear
Nothing but Guilt can be the Cauſe of Fear;
Satyr go on, thy keeneſt Shafts let fly,
Truth can be no affront to Honeſty;
The Guilty only are concern'd, and *they*
Lampoon themſelves whene'er they cenſure thee.

PART II.

THE City's view'd, now Satyr turn thine Eye,
The Country's Vices, and the Court's, ſurvey,
And from Impartial Scrutiny ſet down,
How much they're both more Vicious than the Town.
How does our Ten Years War with Vice advance?
About as much as it hath done with France.

Ride

Ride with the Judge, and view the wrangling Bar,
And see how lewd our *Justice-Merchants* are:
How *Clito* comes from instigating Whore,
Pleads for the Man he Cuckold just before;
See how he Cants, and acts the Ghostly Father,
And brings the Gospel and the Law together;
To make his Pious Frauds be well receiv'd,
He quotes that Scripture which he ne'er believ'd.
Fluent in Language, indigent in Sense,
Supplies his want of Law with Impudence.
See how he rides the Circuit with the Judge;
To Law and Lewdness a devoted Drudge.
A Brace of Female-Clients meet him there,
To help debauch the *Sizes* and the *Fair*:
By Day he plies the Bar with all his might,
And Revels in St. *Edmund*'s Streets at Night:
The Scandal of the Law, his own Lampoon,
Is Lawyer, Merchant, Bully, and Buffoon;
In drunken Quarrels eager to engage,
Till Brother Justice lodg'd him in the Cage:
A thing the Learned thought could never be,
Had not the Justice been as drunk as he.
He pleads of late at *Hymen*'s Nuptial Bar,
And bright *Aurelia* is Defendant there.
He Courts the Nymph to Wed, and make a Wife,
And swears *by God* he will reform his Life.
The solemn Part he might ha' well forbore;
For she alas! has been, *has been a Whore*:
The pious Dame the sober Saint puts on,
And *Clito*'s in the Way to be undone.
Casco's debauch'd, 'tis his Paternal Vice;
For Wickedness descends to Families:

The

The tainted Blood the Seeds of Vice convey,
And plants new Crimes before the old decay.
Thro' all Degrees of Vice the Father run,
But sees himself out-sinn'd by either Son;
Whoring and *Incest* he has understood,
And they subjoin Adultery and Blood.

This does the Orphan's Cause devoutly plead,
Secures her Money, and her Maidenhead,
And then perswades her to defend the Crime,
Evade the Guilt, and Banter off the Shame.
Taught by the subtle Counsellor, she shows
More nice Distinctions than *Ignatius* knows;
In Matrimony finds a learned flaw,
A Wife in Honour, and a Wife in Law.
" *Choice is the Substance of the Contract made,*
" *And mutual Love the only Knot that's ty'd:*
" *To these the Laws of Nations must submit;*
" *And where they fail, the Contract's incomplete.*
" *So that if Love and Choice went not before,*
" *The last may be the Wife, the first the Whore.*
Thus she securely sins with eager Gust,
And satisfies her Conscience, and her Lust:
Nor does her Zeal and Piety omit,
But to the Whore she joins the Jesuit;
With constant Zeal frequents the House of Prayer,
To heal her prostituted Conscience there,
Without Remorse, adjourns with full Content,
From his lascivious Arms to th' Sacrament.

The Brother less afraid of Sin than Shame,
Doubles his Guilt to save his tottering Fame:

'Twas

'Twas too much Riſque for any Man to run,
To ſave that Credit which before was gone:
The Innocent lies unreveng'd in Death,
He ſtopp'd the growing Scandal in her Breath,
Till Time ſhall lay the horrid Murder bare:
No Bribes can cruſh the Writs of Error there.

Nor is the Bench leſs tainted than the Bar:
How hard's that Plague to Cure that's ſpread ſo far!
'Twill all preſcrib'd Authorities reject,
While they're moſt guilty who ſhou'd firſt correct.
Contagious Vice infects the Judgment-Seats,
And Vertue from Authority retreats:
How ſhou'd ſhe ſuch Society endure?
Where ſhe's contemn'd ſhe cannot be ſecure.

Milo's a Juſtice, they that made him ſo
Shou'd anſwer for th' oppreſſive Wrongs he'll do;
His Lands almoſt to *Oſtia*'s Walls extend;
And of his heap'd up Thouſands there's no end;
If Magiſtrates, as in the Text 'tis clear,
Ought to be ſuch as Avarice abhor,
This may be known of the Almighty's Mind,
That *Milo*'s not the Man the Text deſign'd.

Satyr be bold, and fear not to expoſe
The vileſt Magiſtrate the Nation knows:
Let *Furius* read his naked Character;
Bluſh not to write what he ſhou'd bluſh to hear;
But let them bluſh, who in a Chriſtian State
Made ſuch a Devil be a Magiſtrate.

In

In *Britain*'s Eaſtern Provinces he reigns,
And ſerves the Devil with exceſſive Pains:
The Nation's Shame, and honeſt Mens ſurprize,
With Drunkard in his Face, and Mad-man in his Eyes.
The ſacred Bench of Juſtice he Prophanes
With a polluted Tongue and bloody Hands:
His Intellects are always in a Storm,
He frights the People which he ſhou'd reform.
Antipathies may ſome Diſeaſes cure,
But Vertue can no Contraries endure.
All Reformation ſtops when Vice commands;
Corrupted Heads can ne'er have upright Hands.
Shameleſs ith' Claſs of Juſtices he'll ſwear,
And plants the Vices he ſhould puniſh there.
His Mouth's a Sink of Oaths and Blaſphemies,
And Curſings are his kind Civilities;
His fervent Prayers to Heaven he hourly ſends,
But 'tis to damn himſelf and all his Friends;
He raves in Vice, and ſtorms that he's confin'd,
And ſtudies to be worſe than all Mankind.
Extremes of Wickedneſs are his Delight,
And's pleas'd to hear that he's diſtinguiſht by't.
Exotick Ways of ſinning he improves;
We curſe and hate, he curſes where he loves;
So ſtrangely retrograde to all Mankind,
If croſt he damns himſelf, if pleas'd his Friend.
This is the Man that helps to bleſs the Nation,
And bully Mankind into Reformation:
The true Coercive Power of the Law,
Which drives the People which it cannot draw:
The Nation's Scandal, *England*'s true Lampoon,
A Drunken, Whoring, Juſticing Buffoon.

With

With what ſtupendious Impudence can he
Puniſh a Poor Man's Immorality?
How ſhou'd a Vicious Magiſtrate aſſent
To mend our Manners, or our Government?
How ſhall new Laws for Reformation paſs,
If Vice the Legiſlation ſhou'd poſſeſs?
To ſee Old *S——y* Blaſphemy decry,
And *S——e* vote to puniſh Bribery;
Lying exploded by a Perjur'd Knight,
And VVhoring puniſh'd by a *Sodomite*;
That he the Peoples Freedom ſhou'd defend,
VVho had the King and People too trepan'd;
Soldiers ſeek Peace, Drunkards prohibit VVine,
And Fops and Beaus our Politicks refine;
Theſe are Abſurdities too groſs to hide,
VVhich VViſe Men wonder at, and Fools deride.

VVhen from the Helm *Socinian H——t* flies,
And all the reſt his Tenets ſtigmatize,
And none remain that *Jeſus Chriſt* denies.
Judas expell'd, Lewd, Lying, C—— ſent home,
And Men of Honeſty put in their room.
Blaſpheming *B——s* to his Fen-Ditches ſent,
To bully Juſtice with a Parliament,
Then we ſhall have a Chriſtian Government.
Then ſhall the wiſht for Reformation riſe,
And Vice to Vertue fall a Sacrifice.

And with the Nauſeous Rabble that retire,
Turn out that Bawdy, Saucy, Poet *P——*.

A *Vint-*

A *Vintner*'s Boy the VVretch was first preferr'd,
To wait at Vice's Gates, and Pimp for Bread;
To hold the Candle, and sometimes the Door,
Let in the Drunkard, and let out the VVhore:
But as to Villains it has often chanc'd,
Was for his Wit and Wickedness advanc'd.
Let no Man think his new Behaviour strange,
No Metamorphosis can Nature change;
Effects are chain'd to Causes; generally
The Rascal born will like a Rascal die.

His Prince's Favours follow'd him in vain,
They chang'd the Circumstance, but not the Man.
While out of Pocket, and his Spirits low,
He'd beg, write Panegyricks, cringe and bow;
But when good Pensions had his Labours crown'd,
His Panegyricks into Satyrs turn'd,
And with a true Mechanick Spirit curst,
Abus'd his Royal Benefactor first.
O what assiduous Pains does *P*——— take
To let great *D*——*set* see he cou'd mistake!
Dissembling Nature false Description gave,
Shew'd him the Poet, and conceal'd the Knave.

To———*d*, if such a Wretch is worth our Scorn,
Shall Vice's blackest Catalogue adorn;
His hated Character let this supply,
Too vile even for our University.

Now, Satyr, to one Character be just,
M——*n*'s the only Pattern, and the first:

A Title

A Title which has more of Honour in't,
Than all his ancient Glories of Deſcent.
Moſt Men their Neighbours Vices will diſown,
But he's the Man that firſt reforms his own.
Let thoſe alone reproach his want of Senſe,
Who with his Crimes have had his Penitence.
'Tis want of Senſe makes Men when they do wrong
Adjourn their promis'd Penitence too long:
Nor let them call him Coward, becauſe he fears
To pull both God and Man about his Ears.
Amongſt the worſt of Cowards let him be nam'd,
Who having ſinn'd's *afraid to be aſham'd*:
And to miſtaken Courage he's betray'd,
Who having ſinn'd's *aſham'd to be afraid.*
Thy Valour *M*—— does our Praiſe prevent,
For thou haſt had the Courage to repent:
Nor ſhall his firſt Miſtakes our Cenſure find,
What Heaven forgets let no Man call to mind.

Satyr, make ſearch thro' all the ſober Age,
To bring one ſeaſon'd Drunkard on the Stage;
Sir *Stephen*, nor Sir *Thomas*, won't ſuffice,
Nor Six and twenty *Kentiſh* Juſtices:
Your *Eſſex* Prieſthood hardly can ſupply,
Tho' they're enough to drink the Nation dry;
Tho' Parſon *Bedford* has been ſteep'd in Wine,
And ſunk the Royal Tankard on the *Rhine*,
He's not a Man that's fit to raiſe a Breed,
Shou'd *Pembrook*, *Paul*, or *Robinſon* ſucceed;
Or match the Size of matchleſs *Rocheſter*,
And make one long Debauch of Thirteen Year;

It muſt be ſomething can Mankind out-do,
Some high Exceſs that's wonderful and new:
Nor will Mechanick Sots our Satyr ſuit,
'Tis Quality muſt grace the Attribute.
Theſe, like the lofty Cedars to the Shrub,
Drink *Maudlin College* down, and *Royſton-Club.*
Such petty Drinking's a Mechanick Evil,
But he's a Drunkard that out-drinks the Devil;
If ſuch cannot in Court or Church appear.
Let's view the Camp, you'll quickly find 'em there.

Brave *T*———*n*, who Revell'd Day and Night,
And always kept himſelf too drunk to Fight;
And *O*——*rd*, in a Sea of Sulphur ſtrove
To let the *Spaniards* ſee the Vice we love;
Yet theſe are puny Sinners, if you'll look
The dreadful Roll in Fate's Authentick Book.
The Monument of *Bacchus* ſtill remains,
Where *Engliſh* Bones lye heapt in *Iriſh* Plains;
Triumphant Death upon our Army trod,
And Revell'd at *Dundalk* in *Engliſh* Blood.

Let no Man wonder at the dreadful Blow,
For Heaven has ſeldom been inſulted ſo.
In vain old *Scomberg* mourn'd the Troops that fell,
While he made Vows to Heaven, and they to Hell.
Our Satyr trembles to review thoſe Times,
And hardly finds out Words to name their Crimes;
In every Tent the horrid *Juncto*'s ſate,
To brave their Maker, and deſpiſe their Fate;
The Work was done, Drunkneſs was gone before,
Life was ſuſpended, *Death could do no more.*

Five

Five Regimented Heroes there appear,
Captains of Thouſands, mighty Men of War,
Glutted with Wine, and drunk with Helliſh Rage,
For want of other Foes they Heaven engage.
Sulphur and ill-extracted Fumes agree,
To make each drop puſh on their Deſtiny.
Th' Infernal Draughts *in Blaſphemies rebound*,
And openly the Devil's Health went round:
Nor can our Verſe their latent Crime conceal,
How they ſhook Hands *to meet next Day in Hell*;
Death pledg'd them, Fate the dreadful Compact read,
Concurring Juſtice ſpoke, and Four of Five lay dead.
When Men their Maker's Vengeance once deſie,
'T's a certain Sign that their Deſtruction's nigh.

'Tis vain to ſingle out Examples here,
Drunkenneſs will ſoon be th' Nations Character;
The grand Contagion's ſpreading over all,
'Tis Epidemick now, and National.
Since then the Sages all Reproofs deſpiſe,
Let's quit the People, and Lampoon the Vice.
Drunkenneſs is ſo the Error of the Time,
The Youth begin to ask if 'tis a Crime:
Wonder to ſee the grave Patricians come,
From City Courts of Conſcience reeling home;
And think 'tis hard they ſhould no Licence make,
To give the Freedom which their Fathers take.

The Seat of Judgment's ſo debauch'd with Wine,
Juſtice ſeems rather to be drunk than blind:
Lets fall the Sword, and her unequal Scale
Makes Right go down, and Injury prevail.

A Vice 'tis thought the Devil at firſt deſign'd,
Not to allure, but to affront, Mankind;
A Pleaſure Nature hardly can explain,
Suits none of God Almighty's Brutes but Man.

An Act ſo Nauſeous, that had Heaven enjoyn'd
The Practice as a Duty on Mankind,
They'd ſhun the Bliſs which came ſo foul a Way,
And rather forfeit Heaven than once obey.

A double Crime, by which one Act w' undo
At once the Gentleman and Chriſtian too:
For which no better Antidote is known,
Than t' have one Drunkard to another ſhown.
The Mother Conduit of expatiate Sin,
Where all the Seeds of Wickedneſs begin;
The Introduction to Eternal Strife,
And Prologue to the Tragedy of Life;
A fooliſh Vice does needleſs Crimes reveal,
And only tells the truth it ſhould conceal.

'Tis ſtrange how Men of Senſe ſhould be ſubdu'd
By Vices ſo unnatural and rude,
Which gorge the Stomach to divert the Head,
And to make Mankind merry, make them mad:
Deſtroys the Vitals, and diſtracts the Brain,
And rudely moves the Tongue to talk in vain;
Diſmiſſes Reaſon, ſtupifies the Senſe,
And wondring Nature's left in ſtrange ſuſpence;
The Soul's benumb'd, and ceaſes to inform,
And all the Sea of Nature's in a Storm;

The dead unactive Organ feels the Shock,
And willing Death attends the Fatal Stroke.

And is this all for which Mankind endure
Diſtempers paſt the Power of Art to cure?
For which our Youth Old Age anticipate,
And with Luxurious Drafts ſuppreſs their vital Heat?
Tell us, ye Learned Doctors of the Vice,
Wherein the high myſterious Pleaſure lies?
The great ſublime Enjoyment's laid ſo deep,
'Tis known in Dream, and underſtood in Sleep.
The Graduates of the *Science* firſt commence,
And gain Perfection when they loſe their Senſe:
Titles they give, which call their Vice to mind,
But Sot's the common Name for all the Kind.
Nature's Fanaticks, who their Senſe employ
The Principles of Nature to deſtroy.
A Drunkard is a Creature God ne'er made,
The Species Man, the Nature retrograde;
From all the Sons of Paradiſe they ſeem
To differ in the moſt acute Extreme;
Thoſe covet Knowledge, labour to be Wiſe,
Theſe ſtupifie the Senſe and put out Reaſon's Eye;
For Health and Youth *thoſe* all their Arts employ;
Theſe ſtrive their Youth and Vigour to deſtroy;
Thoſe damn themſelves to heap an ill-got Store,
Theſe liquidate their Wealth, and covet to be poor.

Satyr, examine now with needful care,
What the Rich Trophies of the Bottle are,
The mighty Conqueſts which her Champions boaſt,
The Prizes which they gain, and Price they coſt.

The Enſigns of her Order ſoon diſplace
Nature's moſt early Beauties from the Face;
Paleneſs at firſt ſucceeds, and languid Air,
And bloated Yellows ſuperſede the Fair;
The flaming Eyes betray the Nitrous Flood,
Which quench the Spirits, and inflame the Blood,
Diſperſe the Roſie Beauties of the Face,
And Fiery Botches triumph in the place;
The tottering Head and trembling Hand appears,
And all the Marks of Age *without the Years*;
Diſtorted Limbs, groſs and unweildy move,
And hardly can purſue the Vice they love:
A *Bacchanalian* Scarlet dies the Skin,
A Sign that Sulphurous Streams ariſe within.
The Fleſh emboſs'd with Ulcers, and the Brain
Oppreſs'd with Fumes and Vapour, ſhews in vain
What once *before the Fire* it did contain.

Strange Power of Wine, whoſe Vehicle the ſame
At once can both extinguiſh and inflame:
Keen as the Light'ning does the Sword conſume,
And leaves the untouch'd Scabbard in its room;
Nature burnt up with fiery Vapour dies,
And Wine a little while Mock-Life ſupplies:
Gouts and old Aches, Life's ſhort Hours divide,
At once the Drunkard's Puniſhment and Pride;
Who having all his youthful Powers ſubdu'd,
Enjoys Old Age and Pain before he ſhou'd,
Till Nature quite exhauſted quits the Wretch,
And leaves more Will than Power to Debauch;
With Helliſh Pleaſure paſt Exceſs he views,
And fain wou'd drink, but Nature muſt refuſe:

Thus

Thus drench'd in artificial Flame he lies,
Drunk in Desire, forgets himself and dies.
In the next Regions he expects the same;
And Hell's no change, for here he liv'd in Flame.

Satyr, *to Church,* Visit the House of Prayer,
And see the wretched Reformation there;
Unveil the Mask, and search the Sacred Sham;
For Rogues of all Religions are the same.
The several Tribes their numerous Titles view,
And fear no Censure where the Fact is true;
They all shall have thee for their constant Friend,
Who more than common Sanctity pretend;
Provided they'll take care the World may see
Their Practices and their Pretence agree;
But count them with the worst *of Hypocrites,*
Whom Zeal divides, and Wickedness unites,
Who in Profession only are precise,
Dissent in Doctrine, and conform in Vice.

They who from the Establish'd Church divide,
Must do it out of Piety or Pride:
And their Sincerity is quickly try'd,
For always they that stand before the first
Will be the best of Christians, *or the worst.*
But shun their secret Councils, O *my Soul!*
Whose Interest can their Consciences controul;
Those *Ambo-Dexters* in Religion, who
Can any thing dispute, yet any thing can do:
Those Christian Mountebanks, that in disguise
Can reconcile Impossibilities;

Alternately conform, and yet dissent,
And Sin with both Hands, but with one repent.

The Man of Conscience all Mankind will love,
The Knaves themselves his Honesty approve:
He only to Religion can pretend,
The rest do for the Name alone contend.

The Verity of true Religion's known
By no Description better than its own.
Of Truth and Wisdom it informs the Mind,
And Nobly strives to Civilize Mankind:
With potent Vice maintains Eternal Strife,
Corrects the Manners, and reforms the Life.

Tell us, *ye Learned Magi* of the Schools,
Who pose Mankind with Ecclesiastick Rules,
What strange amphibious things are they that can
Religion without Honesty maintain:
Who own a God, pretended Homage pay,
But neither his, nor Human Laws, Obey.
Blush *England*, hide thy Hypocritick Face,
Who has no Honesty, can have no Grace.

In vain we argue from Absurdities,
Religion's bury'd just when Vertue dies;
Vertue's the Light by which Religion's known,
If this be wanting, Heaven will that disown.
We grant it merits no Divine Regard:
And Heaven is all from Bounty, not Reward:
But God must his own Nature Contradict,
Reverse the World, its Government Neglect,

Cease

Ceaſe to be juſt, Eternal Law Repeal,
Be weak in Power, and mutable in Will.
If Vice and Vertue equal Fate ſhould know,
And *that unbleſs'd*, or *this unpuniſh'd*, go.

In vain we ſtrive Religion to diſguiſe,
And ſmother it with Ambiguities:
Intereſt and Prieſtcraft may, perhaps, invent
Strange Myſteries by way of Supplement:
School-men may deep perplexing Doubts diſcloſe,
And ſubtle Notions on the World impoſe,
Till by their Ignorance they are betray'd,
And loſt in Deſarts which themſelves ha' made.
Zealots may Cant, and Dreamers may Divine,
And formal Fops to Pageantry incline,
And all with ſpecious Gravity pretend
Their Spurious Metaphyſicks to defend.

Religion's no divided Myſtick Name;
For true Religion always is the ſame:
Naked and plain her Sacred Truths appear,
From pious Frauds, and dark Ænigma's, clear:
The meaneſt Senſe may all the Parts diſcern,
What Nature teaches all Mankind may learn:
And what's reveal'd is no untrodden Path,
Tis known by Rule, and underſtood by Faith;
The Negatives and Poſitives agree,
Illuſtrated by Truth and Honeſty.

And yet if all Religion was in vain,
Did no Rewards or Puniſhments contain,

Vertue's

Vertue's so suited to our Happiness,
That none but Fools cou'd be in love with Vice.

Vertue's a Native Rectitude of Mind,
Vice the Degeneracy of Human Kind:
Vertue is Wisdom Solid and Divine,
Vice is all Fool without, and Knave within:
Virtue is Honour circumscrib'd by Grace,
Vice is made up of every thing that's base:
Vertue has secret Charms which all Men love,
And those that do not chuse her, yet approve:
Vice, like ill Pictures which offend the Eye,
Make those that made them their own Works deny:
Vertue's the Health and Vigour of the Soul,
Vice is the foul Disease infects the whole:
Vertue's the Friend of Life, the Soul of Health,
The Poor Man's Comfort, and the Rich Man's Wealth:
Vice is a Thief, a Traitor in the Mind,
Assassinates the Vitals of Mankind;
The Poison of his high Prosperity.
And only Misery of Poverty.

To States and Governments they both extend,
Vertue's their Life and Being, *Vice* their End:
Vertue establishes, and *Vice* destroys,
And all the ends of Government unties:
Vertue's an *English* King and Parliament,
Vice is *a Czar of* Muscow *Government*:
Virtue sets bounds to Kings, and limits Crowns,
Vice knows no Law, and all Restraint disowns:
Virtue prescribes all Government by Rules,
Vice makes Kings Tyrants, and their Subjects Fools:

Vertue

Vertue ſeeks Peace, and Property maintains,
Vice binds the Captive World in hoſtile Chains:
Vertue's a beauteous Building form'd on high,
Vice is Confuſion and Deformity.

In vain we ſtrive theſe Two to reconcile,
Vain and impoſſible the unequal Toil:
Antipathies in Nature may agree,
Darkneſs and Light, Diſcord and Harmony;
The diſtant Poles in ſpight of ſpace may kiſs,
Water capitulate, and Fire make Peace:
But Good and Evil never can agree,
Eternal Diſcord's there, Eternal Contrariety.

In vain the Name of Vertue they put on,
Who preach up Piety, and practiſe none.
Satyr reſume the Search of ſecret Vice,
Conceal'd beneath Religion's fair Diſguiſe.

Solid's a Parſon Orthodox and Grave,
Learning and Language more than moſt Men have;
A fluent Tongue, a well-digeſted Stile,
His Angel Voice his Hearers Hours beguile;
Charm'd them with Godlineſs, and while he ſpake,
We lov'd the Doctrine for the Teacher's ſake;
Strictly to all Preſcription he conforms,
To Canons, Rubrick, Diſcipline, and Forms;
Preaches, Diſputes, with Diligence and Zeal,
Labours the Church's latent Wounds to heal:
'Twou'd be uncharitable to ſuggeſt
Where this is found we ſhould not find the reſt:

Yet

Yet *Solid*'s frail and falſe, to ſay no more,
Doats on a Bottle, and what's worſe, a W——
Two Baſtard Sons he educates abroad,
And breeds them to the Function of the Word;
In this the zealous Church-man he puts on,
And Dedicates his Labours to the Gown.

P——, for ſo his Grace the Duke thought fit,
Has in the Wild of *Suſſex* made his Seat:
His want of Manners we could here excuſe,
For in his Time 'twas out of Pulpit-uſe:
Railing was then the Duty of the Day,
Their Sabbath-work was but to Scold and Pray;
But when tranſplanted to a Country-Town,
'Twas hop'd he'd lay his fiery Talent down:
At leaſt we thought he'd ſo much caution uſe,
As not his Noble Patron to abuſe.

But 'tis in vain to cultivate Mankind,
When Pride has once poſſeſſion of his Mind.
Not all his Grace's Favours could prevail,
To calm that Tongue that was ſo uſed to rail.
Promiſcuous Gall his Learned Mouth defil'd,
And Hypocondriack Spleen his Preaching ſpoil'd;
His undiſtinguiſh'd Cenſure he beſtows,
Not by Deſert, but as Ill-nature flows.
The Learned ſay the Cauſes are from hence,
An Ebb of Manners, and a Flux of Senſe;
Dilated Pride, the Frenzy of the Brain,
Exhal'd the Spirits, and diſturb'd the Man;
And ſo the kindeſt thing which can be ſaid,
Is not to ſay he's mutinous, but mad:

For

For leſs could *ne'er* his Antick Whims explain;
He thouht his Belly pregnant as his Brain;
Fancy'd himſelf with Child, and durſt believe,
That he by Inſpiration cou'd conceive;
And if the Hetrogeneous Birth goes on,
He hopes to bring his Mother Church a Son:
Tho' ſome Folks think the Doctor ought to doubt
Not how't got in, *but how it will get out.*

Hark, Satyr, now bring *Boanerges* down,
A Fighting Prieſt, a Bully of the Gown:
In double Office he can ſerve the Lord,
To fight his Battels, and to preach his Word;
And double Praiſe is to his Merit due,
He thumps the Pulpit, and the People too.

Than ſearch my Lord of *L*— Dioceſs,
And ſee what Rakes the Care of Souls poſſeſs;
Beſeech his L———p but to name the Prieſt
Went ſober from his Viſitation Feaſt.
Tell him of Sixteen Eccleſiaſtick Guides,
One whom no Spirit but that of Wine abides;
Who in contiguous Pariſhes remain,
And Preach the Goſpel once a Week in vain:
But in their Practices unpreach it all,
And ſacrifice to *Bacchus* and to *Baal.*

Tell him a Vicious Prieſthood muſt imply
A Careleſs or Defective Prelacy;
But ſtill be circumſpect, and ſpare the Gown;
The Mitre's full as ſacred as the Crown;

The

The Church's Sea is always in a Storm,
Leave them at *Latter Lammas* to reform.
If in their Gulph of Vice thou ſhould'ſt appear,
Thou'lt certainly be Loſt and Shipwrack'd there:
Nor meddle with their Convocation Feuds,
The Church's Farce, the Clergy's interludes:
Their Church Diſtinctions too let us lay by,
As who are *low Church Rakes*, and who are *high*.
Enquire not who their Paſſive Doctrine broke,
Who ſwore at Random, or who ly'd by Book:
But ſince their Frailties come ſo very faſt,
'Tis plain they ſhou'd not be believ'd in haſte.

Satyr, for Reaſons we ha' told before,
With gentle Strokes the *Men of Poſts* paſs o'er;
Nor within Gun-ſhot of St. *Stephen*'s come,
Unleſs thou'rt well prepar'd for Martyrdom;
Not that there's any want of Subject there,
But the more Crimes we have, the leſs we'll hear;
And what haſt thou to do with Sovereign Power?
Let them ſin on, and tempt the Fatal Hour;
'Tis vain to preach up dull Morality,
Where too much Crime, and too much Power agree;
The harden'd Guilt undocible appears,
They'll exerciſe their Hands, but not their Ears.
Let their own Crimes be Puniſhment enough,
And let them want the favour of Reproof.

Let the Court Ladies be as lewd as fair,
Let Wealth and Wickedneſs be *M*—— Care;
Let *D*——'*t* drench his Wit with his Eſtate,
And O——— ſin in ſpight of Age and Fate;

On

On the wrong ſide of Eighty let him Whore,
He always was, and will be, lewd and Poor;
Let *D*——— be proud, and O—— gay,
Laviſh of vaſt Eſtates, and ſcorn to pay:
The Ancient D——— has ſinn'd *to's Heart's content*,
And but he ſcorns to ſtoop, wou'd now repent:
Wou'd Heaven abate but that one Darling Sin,
He'd be a Chriſtian and a P——— again;
Let poor *Corrina* mourn her Maidenhead,
And her loſt D—— gone out to fight for Bread.
Be he Embarkt for *Portugal* or *S———n*,
She prays he never may return again,
For fear ſhe always ſhou'd reſiſt in vain.

Satyr, forbear the bluſhing Sex t'expoſe,
For all their Vice from Imitation flows;
And 'twou'd be but a very dull Pretence,
To miſs the Cauſe, and blame the Conſequence:
But let us make Mankind aſham'd to ſin,
Good Nature'l make the Women all come in;
This one Requeſt ſhall thy Rebukes expreſs,
Only to *talk a little little leſs.*

Now view the Beaus at *Will*'s, the Men of Wit,
By Nature nice, and for diſcerning fit:
The finiſh'd Fops, the Men of Wig and Snuff,
Knights of the Famous Oyſter-Barrel Muff.
Here meets the *Diet* of Imperial Wit,
And of their weighty Matters wiſely treat;
Send Deputies to *Tunbridge* and the *Bath*,
To guide young Country Beaus in Wit's unerring Path.

Priſon

Prigſon from Nurſe and Hanging-ſleeves got free;
A little ſmatch of Modern Blaſphemy,
A powder'd Wig, a Sword, a Page, a Chair,
Learns to take Snuff, drink Chocolate, and Swear:
Nature ſeems thus far to ha' led him on,
And no Man thinks he was a Fop too ſoon;
But 'twas the Devil ſurely drew him in,
Againſt the Light of Nature thus to ſin;
That he who was a Coxcomb ſo compleat,
Should now put in his wretched Claim for Wit;
Such ſober Steps Men to their Ruin take,
A Fop, a Beau, a Wit, and then a Rake.

Fate has the Scoundrel Party halv'd in Two,
The Wits are Shabby, and the Fops are Beau;
The Reaſon's plain, the Money went before,
And ſo the Wits are Rakiſh 'cauſe they're Poor;
Indulgent Heaven for Decency thought fit,
That ſome ſhou'd have the Money, and ſome the Wit.
Fools are a Rent-Charge left on Providence,
And have Equivalents inſtead of Senſe;
To whom he's bound a larger Lot to carve,
Or elſe they'd ſeem to ha' been Born to ſtarve.
Such with their double Dole ſhou'd be content,
And not pretend to Gifts that Heaven ne'er ſent:
For 'twou'd reflect upon the Power Supream,
If all his Mercies ran in one contracted Stream:
The Men of Wit would by their Wealth be known;
Some wou'd have all the Good, and ſome ha' none;
The uſeleſs Fools wou'd in the World remain,
As Inſtances that Heaven cou'd work in vain.

Dull

Dull *Fletumacy* has his Heart's Delight,
Gets up i'th' Morning to lye down at Night;
His Talk's a Mass of weighty Emptiness,
None more of Business prates, or knows it less;
A painted Lump of Idleness and Sloth,
And in the Arms of *Bacchus* spends his Youth:
The waiting Minutes tend on him in vain,
Misspent the past, unvalued those remain;
Time lies as useless, unregarded by,
Needless to him that's only Born to die,
And yet this undiscerning thing has Pride,
And hugs the Fop that wiser Men deride.

Pride's a most useful Vertue in a Fool;
The humble Coxcomb's always made a Tool;
Conceit's a Blockhead's only Happiness;
He'd hang himself if he cou'd use his Eyes.
If Fools cou'd their own Ignorance discern,
They'd be no longer Fools,
From whence some wise Philosophers ha' said,
Fools may sometimes be sullen, but can't be mad.
'Tis too much thinking which distracts the Brain;
Crouds it with Vapours which dissolve in vain;
The fluttering Wind of undigested Thought
Keeps Mock Idea's in, and true one's out:
These guide the undirected Wretch along,
With giddy Head and inconsistent Tongue;
But *Fletumacy*'s safe, he's none of them,
Bedlam can never lay her Claim to him;
Nature secur'd his unincumbred Scull,
For *Fletumacy* never thinks at all:

Supinely sleeps in *Diadora*'s Arms,
Doz'd with the Magick of her Craft and Charms;
The subtle Dame brought up in Vice's School,
Can love the Cully, tho' she hates the Fool:
Wisely her just Contempt of him conceals,
And hides the Follies he himself reveals.
'Tis plain the self-denying Jilt's i'th' Right,
She wants his Money, and *he wants her Wit*,

Satyr, the Men of *Rhime* and *Jingle* shun;
Has't thou not Rhim'd thy self till thou'rt undone?
On Rakish Poets let us not reflect,
They only are what all Mankind expect.

Yet 'tis not Poets have debaucht the Times,
'Tis we that have so damn'd their sober Rhimes:
The Tribe's good natur'd, and desire to please,
And when you snarl at those, present you these.
The World has lost its ancient taste of Wit,
And Vice comes in to raise the Appetite;
For Wit has lately got the start of Sense,
And serves it self as well with Impudence.

Let him whose Fate it is to write for Bread,
Keep this one Maxim always in his Head:
If in this Age he would expect to please,
He must not cure, but nourish, their Disease;
Dull Moral things will never pass for Wit;
Some Years ago they might, but now's too late.
Vertue's the faint Green-sickness of the Times,
'Tis luscious Vice gives Spirit to all our Rhimes.

In vain the ſober thing inſpir'd with Wit,
Writes Hymns and Hiſtories from Sacred Writ;
But let him *Blaſphemy* and *Baudy* write,
The *Pious* and the *Modeſt* both will buy't.
The bluſhing Virgin's pleas'd, and loves to look,
And plants the Poem next her Prayer-Book.

W——ly with Pen and Poverty beſet,
And *Bl——re* vers'd in Phyſick as in Wit;
Tho' this of *Jeſus*, that of *Job*, may ſing,
One Bawdy Play will twice their Profits bring;
And had not both careſt the Flatter'd Crown,
This had no Knighthood ſeen, nor that no Gown.

Had Vice no Power the Fancy to bewitch,
Dryden had hang'd himſelf as well as *Creech*:
Durfey had ſtarv'd, and half the Poets fled
In Foreign Parts to Pawn their Wit for Bread.
'Tis Wine or Leudneſs all our Themes ſupplies,
Gives Poets Power to write, and Power to pleaſe:
Let this deſcribe the Nation's Character,
One Man reads *Milton*, Forty *Rocheſter*.
This loſt his Taſte, *They ſay*, when h' loſt his Sight;
Milton had Thought, but *Rocheſter* had Wit.
The Caſe is plain, the temper of the Time,
One wrote *the Leud*, and t'other the *Sublime*.

And ſhou'd *Apollo* now deſcend and write
In Vertue's Praiſe 'twou'd never paſs for Wit.
The *Bookſeller* perhaps wou'd ſay, *'Twas well*:
But *'Twould not hit the Times, 'Twould never Sell*:

Unleſs a Spice of Leudneſs cou'd appear,
The ſprightly Part wou'd ſtill be wanting there.
The Faſhionable World wou'd never read,
Nor the unfaſhionable Poet get his Bread.
'Tis *Love and Honour* muſt enrich our Verſe,
The Modern Terms *our Whoring to rehearſe.*
The ſprightly Part attends the *God of Wine,*
The Drunken Stile *muſt blaze* in every Line.
Theſe are the Modern Qualities muſt do
To make the Poem and the Poet too.

Dear Satyr, if thou wilt reform the Town,
Thou'lt certainly be beggar'd and undone:
'Tis at thy Peril if thou wilt proceed
To cry down Vice, Mankind will never read.

The Concluſion.

WHat ſtrange Mechanick thoughts of God and Man
Muſt this unſteady Nation entertain,
To think *Almighty Science* can be blind,
Wiſdom it ſelf be banter'd by Mankind,
Eternal Providence be mockt with Lies,
With Outſides and Improbabilities,
With Laws, thoſe *Rhodomanta*'s of the State,
Long Proclamations, and the Lord knows what,
Societies ill Manners to ſuppreſs,
And new ſham Wars with Immoralities,
While they themſelves to common Crimes betray'd,
Can break the very Laws themſelves ha' made:

With *Jehu*'s Zeal they furiously reform,
And raise false Clouds, which end without a Storm;
But with a loose to Vice securely see
The Subject punish'd, and themselves go free.

For shame your *Reformation Clubs* give o'er,
And jest with Men, and jest with Heaven, no more:
But if you wou'd avenging Powers appease,
Avert the Indignation of the Skies,
Impending Ruin avoid, and calm the Fates,
Ye Hypocrites, reform your Magistrates.

Your Quest of Vice at *Church* and *Court* begin,
There lye the Seeds of high expatiate Sin;
'Tis they can check the Vices of the Town
Whene'er they please but *to suppress their own*;
Our Modes of Vice from their Examples came,
And their Examples only must reclaim.
In vain you strive ill Manners to suppress,
By the Superlatives of Wickedness:
Ask but how well the drunken Plow-man looks,
Set by the Swearing Justice in the Stocks;
And poor Street Whores in *Bridewell* fell their Fate,
While *Harlot M——n* rides in Coach of State.
The Mercenary Scouts in every Street,
Bring all *that have no Money* to your Feet;
And if you lash a Strumpet of the Town,
She only smarts *for want of Half a Crown*:
Your Annual Lists of Criminals appear,
But no Sir *Harry*, or Sir *Charles*, is there.
Your Proclamations Rank and File appear,
To Bugbear Vice, and put Mankind in fear:

These are the Squibs and Crackers of the Law,
Which Hiss, and make a Bounce, and then withdraw.
Law, like the Thunder of Immortal *Jove*,
Rings Peals of Terror from the Powers above;
But when the pointed Lightnings disappear,
The Cloud dissolves, and all's serene and clear:
Law only aids Men to conceal their Crimes,
But 'tis Example must reform the Times;
Force and Authorities are all in vain,
Unless you can perswade, *you'll ne'er constrain*;
And all perswasive Power expires of Course,
'Till backt with good Examples to enforce.
The Magistrates must Blasphemy forbear,
Be faultless first themselves, and then severe;
Impartial Justice equally dispence,
And fear no Man, nor fear no Man's Offence:
Then may our Justices, and not before,
When they reprove the Rich, correct the Poor.

The Men of Honour must from Vice dissent,
Before the *Rakes* and *Bullies* will repent;
Vertue must be the Fashion of the Town,
Before the Beaus and Ladies put it on;
Wit must no more be Bawdy and Profane,
Or Wit to Vertue's reconcil'd in vain.
The Clergy must be Sober, Grave and Wise,
Or else in vain *they Cant of Paradise*:
Our Reformation never can prevail,
While Precepts govern, and *Examples fail*.
Were but the Ladies Vertuous as they're Fair,
The Beaus would blush as often as they Swear;

Vice wou'd grow antiquated in the Town,
Wou'd all our Men of Mode but cry it down:
For Sin's a Slave to Cuſtom, and will die,
Whenever Habits ſuffer a decay;
And therefore all our Reformation here
Muſt work upon our Shame, and *not our Fear.*
If once the Mode of Virtue wou'd begin,
The Poor will quickly be *aſham'd to Sin.*
Faſhion is ſuch a ſtrange bewitching Charm,
For fear of being laugh'd at they'll Reform.

And yet Poſterity will bluſh to hear
Royal Examples ha' been uſeleſs here;
The only *Juſt Exception* to our Rule,
Vertue's not learnt in this Imperial School.
In vain *Maria's* Character we read,
So few will in her Path of Vertue tread.

In vain her Royal Siſter recommends
Vertue to be the Teſt of all her Friends,
Backt with her own Example and Commands.

Our Church eſtabliſht, and our Trade reſtor'd,
Our Friends protected, and our Peace ſecur'd,
France humbl'd, and our Fleets inſulting *Spain,*
Theſe are the triumphs of a *Female Reign*;
At Home her milder Influence ſhe imparts,
Queen of our Vows, and Monarch of our Hearts.
If Change of Sexes thus will change our Scenes,
Grant Heaven we always may be rul'd by Queens.

THE CHARACTER

Of the late

Dr. SAMUEL ANNESLEY,

By way of

ELEGY.

'TWas ſpoke from Heaven, the Beſt of Men muſt Die,
No Patent's ſeal'd for Immortality:
Not God's own Favourites can ſhun the Stroke;
Even God himſelf cannot the Law revoke;
He can't, unleſs he ſhould at once repeal
The Eternal Laws of Nature: Change his Will;
Declare his Works imperfect, Life reſtore
To all that's Dead, and be a God no more.

The World, whoſe Nature is to fade and die,
Muſt *change*, and take up Immortality;
And Time, which to Eternity rouls on,
Muſt change, and be Eternity begun.

All things muſt ever live, or Man muſt die:
The Law's Supream, and Nature muſt obey.
How vain then, and *impertinent* is Grief,
Which nor to Dead nor Living gives Relief!
Sighs for departed Friends are ſenſeleſs things,
Which them no Help, nor us no Comfort brings.
Tears on the Graves, where Breathleſs Bodies lie,
Our Ignorance, or Atheiſm, imply;

Aſhes

Ashes and Sack-cloth, Cries and renting Cloaths,
Or Folly more than our Affection shows:
For Grief is nothing, properly, but Rage,
And God himself's the Object we engage.
Fain we would live without his Negative;
Which when we can't accomplish, then we grieve:
The Passion's foolish, as it is profane;
The Action, as 'tis fruitless, and in vain.

But would you *like a Man, or Christian grieve*
When others die, be thankful you're alive;
Improve the Great Examples you look on,
And take their Deaths for Warnings of your own:
The best of Men cannot suspend their Fate:
The Good die early, and the Bad die late.
The Eternal Laws of Life are fix'd and fast,
And he who latest dies, yet dies at last.
Tho early Vice does early Death presage,
Yet Piety can lengthen no Man's Age:
The Stroke's promiscuous, and there's no suspence
Beyond the stated Bounds of Providence;
For if *distinguish'd Piety* could save,
We had seen *no Elegy*, nor he no Grave.

Stay then, and spend a Thought upon his Herse,
Whose Name is more immortal than our Verse:
For tho' Death's Stroke, like an impetuous Flood,
Involves in common Fate the Just and Good,
And in one Grave there undistinguish'd lies
The Ashes of the Foolish and the Wise,
The Pious and Profane, the Mean, the Great,
And Grace it self can be no Bribe to Fate;

Yet

Yet Pious Works, like living Flowers, will grow
To a kind of Immortality below;
And Characters of Worthies, like the Sun,
Reflect a Luſtre, tho' themſelves are gone:
Which do Immortal Names to them create,
For us to Honour and to Imitate.
Then ſee what Characters to him belong;
The beſt that Pen e'er wrote, or Poet ſung.

His Parents dedicated him, by Vow,
To ſerve the Church, and early taught him how.
As *Hannah*, when ſhe for her *Samuel* pray'd,
The welcome Loan with Thankfulneſs repay'd;
So they, foreſeeing 'twou'd not be in vain,
Ask'd him of God, and vow'd him back again;
And he again as early did prepare
To liſt a willing Soldier in the Sacred VVar.

His Pious Courſe with Childhood he began,
And was his Maker's ſooner than his own;
As if deſign'd by Inſtinct to be Great,
His Judgment ſeem'd to antidate his Wit;
His Soul out-grew the natural rate of Years,
And full-grown Wit, at half-grown Youth appears;
Early the vigorous Combat he began,
And was an elder Chriſtian than a Man.
The Sacred Study all his Thoughts confin'd;
A ſign what ſecret Hand prepar'd his Mind:
The Heavenly Book he made his only School,
In Youth his Study, and in Age his Rule.
Thus he in blooming Years and Hopes began,
Happy, Belov'd, and Bleſt of God and Man;

Solid,

Solid, yet Vigorous too, both Grave and Young,
A taking Aſpect, and a charming Tongue,
With *David*'s Courage, and *Joſiah*'s Youth,
All over Love, Sincerity, and Truth.
As the Gay World attack'd him with her *Charms*,
He ſhook the gaudy Trifle from his Arms;
When Fraud aſſaulted him, or *Fame carreſs'd*,
This he with Eaſe, and that with Scorn ſuppreſs'd:
Firm as the Rocks in rouling Seas abide,
When Flouds of Doubts and Dangers paſs beſide,
When *Griefs* come threatning on, or *Comfort* flows,
He's undepreſs'd by theſe, unrais'd by thoſe;
And thus advancing with a juſt Applauſe,
He grew a Champion in his Maſter's Cauſe;
The **Sacred Bow** he ſo Divinely drew,
That every ſhot both *hit* and *overthrew*;
His native Candor, and familiar Stile,
Which did ſo oft his Hearers Hours beguile,
Charm'd us with Godlineſs, and while he ſpake,
We lov'd the *Doctrine* for the Teacher's ſake.
While he inform'd us what thoſe Doctrines meant,
By dint of Practice more than Argument,
Strange were the Charms of his Sincerity,
Which made his Actions and his Words agree.
At ſuch a conſtant and exact a rate,
As made a Harmony we wondred at.

Honour he had by Birth, and not by Chance,
And more by Merit than Inheritance;
But both together joyn'd, compleat his Fame,
For Honeſty and Honour are the ſame,

And

And ſhow, when Merit's joyn'd with Quality,
The Gentleman and Chriſtian may agree.

Honour by Vertue only is upheld,
And vain are all the Trophies Vice can build;
For tho' by wicked Acts Men gain Applauſe,
The Reputation's rotten, like the Cauſe:
Vain too's the ſingle Honour of Deſcent,
Till Merit's added as a Supplement.
But when to Vertue Grace infus'd is given,
The ſacred Incenſe reaches up to Heaven;
No Force, or Fraud, can ſuch a Fame remove,
It pleaſes Men below, and God above.

His *negative Vertues* alſo have been try'd,
He had no Prieſtcraft in him, nor no Pride;
No Fraud nor Wheedling Arts to be eſteem'd,
But juſt the very Perſon that he ſeem'd;
Nor was he touch'd or tainted with a Bribe,
That univerſal Blemiſh of the Tribe:
For if to Gifts he ever was enclin'd,
He laid none up, nor left us none behind.
A *Moſes* for Humility and Zeal,
For Innocence a true *Nathaniel*;
Faithful as *Abraham*, or the Truer Spies;
No Man more Honeſt, and but few ſo Wiſe:
Exemplar Vertue ſhone through every Part;
For Grace had full poſſeſſion of his Heart:
Humility was his dear darling Grace,
And Honeſty ſate Regent in his Face;
Meekneſs of Soul did in his Aſpect ſhine,
But in the Truth reſolv'd amd *maſculine*;

A *Pleasing Smile* sate ever on his Brow,
A sign that chearful Peace was lodg'd below.
If e'er his Duty forc'd him to contend,
Calmness was all his Temper, Peace his End;
And if just Censure follow'd the Debate,
His Pity wou'd his Zeal anticipate.

A Heavenly Patience did his Mind possess,
Chearful in Pain, and Thankful in Distress;
Mighty in Works of Sacred Charity,
Which none knew better how to guide than he;
Bounty, and generous Thoughts, took up his Mind
Extensive, like his Maker's to Mankind,
With such a Soul, that (had he Mines in store)
He'd ne'er be Rich while any Man was Poor:
A Heart so Great, that, had he but a Purse,
'Twou'd have supply'd the Poor o'th' Universe.
Now he's above the Praises of my Pen,
The Best of Ministers, and Best of Men!

Then speak not of him with a *mournful Voice*;
For why shou'd we Repine, and he Rejoyce?
His Harvest has been full, his Season long,
And long he charm'd us with his Heavenly Song,
The same, the very same, which *flaming Love*,
Fir'd with Cœlestial Raptures, sings above;
Touch'd with a *Sacred Influence* that's given
From that Eternal Harmony in Heaven;
The *Chorus* and the *Consort* ever last,
A full Reward for all his Troubles past.
For if there be a God, and future State,
A Heaven, a Hell, a Good and Evil Fate;

A Great *first Cause*, Immortal and Immenſe,
That does Rewards and Puniſhments diſpenſe;
Then Pious Men when they revolve to Duſt,
Do thoſe Rewards partake, if Heaven be Juſt:
For Death's a *paſſive Notion*; and the whole
Is but a Tranſmutation of the Soul
From an embodied Life to a ſublime,
Preſcrib'd no more to *Circumſtance* and Time;
For if no difference of States there be,
How then do *Vice* and *Vertue* diſagree?
For here the Diſadvantage plainly lies
For Knaves and Fools, againſt the Juſt and Wiſe:
By partial Fame the *proſperous Fool's* careſs'd,
The Bad exalted, and the Good ſuppreſs'd.
The Good Man's Expectation then *muſt* be
From Happineſs with *Immortality*:
Something which to ſublimer Vertue's due,
Something ſubſtantial and eternal too,
That can for all his Suffering ſatisfie,
His Hopes ſupport, and all his Wants ſuply:
For if to future State we've no regard,
How then can Vertue be its own Reward?
Could but my happy Pen deſcribe the Senſe
That ſeiz'd his joyful Soul at parting hence;
Such Contemplations would transform my Mind;
For *Thoughts reach Heaven*, when Bodies ſtay behind:
And he that thinks at ſo Divine a rate,
May future Happineſs anticipate.
When his Heart leap'd at the good News of Death,
And Sacred Extaſies employ'd his Breath,
The bleſs'd Rewards did to his Faith appear,
The Paſſage eaſie, and the Proſpect near;

And firm Assurance, with a lofty Gale,
Wing'd with Divinest Comfort, fill'd his Sail:
He had the gladsome Regions in his view,
His Hopes were *constant*, and his Comforts *true*:
No wonder Balaam *wish'd to die so too.*
And now *Seraphick Joys* surround his Soul,
Which feel no diminution or controul:
But what they are, or how far they extend,
No Pen *can write*, or Thought *can comprehend*,
But he who at that happy Place arrives;
For Heaven is only known by Negatives.
How much Cœlestial Vision comprehends;
Whether to *Humane Actions* it extends,
Whether he's now inform'd of Things below,
Is needless as impossible to know:
For sight of Spirits is unprescrib'd by space.
What see they not, who see the Eternal Face?
The bright transforming Rays of *Heavenly Light*,
Immense, Immortal, Pure, and Infinite,
Their *Likeness with* their *Light* communicate,
The Spirit exalt, and all its Frame dilate;
Infusing with the bright Similitude
An inexpressible Beatitude!
And could he now, in his exalted State,
His Thoughts by Sympathy communicate,
Or some superior way
For Spirits converse
Without the helps of Voice:
Could he rehearse
To our Conception, what is Heaven above,
'Tou'd be concisely thus, **All Heaven is Love:**

Love

Love Infinite, Magnificent, and True,
Divine in Magnitude, and Object too:
Love, Joy, and Glory, conſtitute the Place;
The Exalted Triumphs of *Victorious Grace!*
No Sorrow can be there, becauſe no Sin;
For all is *Peace* without, and *Pure* within.
There all are Gods, and yet they all adore
The One Supream *firſt Cauſe* of Sovereign Power;
And all *that Adoration*'s mix'd with Love,
The *great Eſſential* of the Joys above:
That Heaven-born Paſſion, which with pureſt Flame
Burns only there: For here 'tis but a Name,
An empty Name, by Int'reſt limited,
A Slave to Scandal, and by Fancy led.
Friendſhip, *unmix'd with Sexes*, reigns above
The true Extream of high ſuperior Love;
Emblem of Heaven, which it reſembles ſo,
It almoſt ſeems to make *a Heaven below:*
For Love in Heaven, *is God communicate*;
In Souls, Collateral; both ſupreamly Great:
The Enjoyment's as reciprocal as high;
For Love's no Paſſion, *but a Quality*:
Thro' it the Almighty Glory darts his Beams,
Known only by unutterable Names;
With Light and Splendor *unapproach'd* enthron'd,
Millions of fiery Spirits attending round,
Who all, like Stars, have Brightneſs from *his Rays*,
And they reflect it back again in Praiſe.
Where e'er this *bleſs'd Society ſhall dwell*,
That Place is Heaven, and every where elſe is Hell.

THE

THE

Spaniſh Deſcent.

A

POEM.

LOng had this Nation been amus'd in vain
With Poſts from *Portugal* and News from *Spain*.
With *Ormond's* Conqueſts, and the Fleets ſucceſs,
And Favours from the *Moors* at *Maccaneſs*,
The learned *Mob* bought Compaſſes and Scales.
And every Barber knew the *Bay* of *Cales*,
Show'd us the Army here, and there the Fleet,
Here the Troops Land, and there the Foes Retreat.
There at St. *Maries* how the *Spaniard* runs,
And liſten cloſe as if they heard the Guns,
And ſome pretend they ſee them —— the Nuns.

Others deſcribe the Caſtles and *Puntals*,
And tell how eaſie 'tis to Conquer *Cales*,
Wiſely propoſe to let the Silver come,
And help to pay the Nations Debts at home.
But ſtill they count the Spoils without the Coſt,
And ſtill the News comes faſter than the Poſt.

The graver Heads, like Mountebanks of State
Of Abdication and Revolts Debate,
Expect a Revolution ſhou'd appear
As Cheap and Eaſy as it had done here.
Bring the Revolting *Grandees* to the Coaſt,
And give the Duke *de Anjou* up for loſt.
Doom him to *France* to ſeek relief in vain,
And ſend the Duke of *Auſtria* to *Spain*,
Canvas the Council at *Madrid* and find
How all the *Spaniſh Courtiers* ſtand enclin'd,
Deſcribe the ſtrange Convulſions of the *State*,
And old *Carrero's* ſacrific'd to Fate:
Then all the *Stage* of Action they ſurvey
And wiſh our Generals knew as much as they.

Some have their Fancies ſo exceeding Bold
They ſaw the Queens fall out, and heard 'em ſcold,
Nor is the thing ſo ſtrange for if they did,
It was but from *Toledo* to *Madrid*.

And now the Farce is Acting o're again,
The meaning of our Miſchiefs to explain;
The Learned Mob O'*er-read* in Arms and Law,
The Cauſe of their Miſcarriages foreſaw.
Tell us the Loytering Minutes were Miſpent
Too long a going, and too few that went.
Exalt the *Catalonian* Garriſon,
The new made Works, the Platform and the *Town*:
Tell us it was impoſſible to Land,
And all their Batteries ſunk into the *Sand*.

Some

Some are all Banter, and the Voyage despise
For fruitless Actions seldom pass for Wise,
Tell us 'twas like our *English* Politicks
To think to wheedle *Spain* with *Heretick*s,
The disproportion'd Force they Banter too,
The Ships too many, and the Men too few.

Then they find fault with *Conduct*, and condemn
Sometimes the Officers, sometimes the Men,
Nor 'scapes his Grace the *Satyr* of the *Town*,
Whoever fails success, shall fail Renown.

Sir *George* comes in amongst the Indiscreet,
Sometimes the Army's censur'd, then the Fleet.
How the abandon'd *Country* they destroy'd,
And made their early Declarations void,
Too hasty Proofs of their Protection gave,
Plund'ring the People, they came there to save.
As if the *Spaniards* were so plagu'd with *France*,
To fly to *Thieves* for their deliverance.

But amongst all the Wisdom of the *Town*
The vast designs of Fate remain unknown,
Ungueſt at, unexpected, hid from thoughts,
For no Man look't for Blessings in our Faults.
Mischances sometimes are a Nations Good,
Rightly Improv'd, and Nicely Understood.

Ten Years we felt the dying Pangs of War
And fetch'd our Grief and Miseries from far.

Our *Engliſh* Millions Foreign War maintains,
And *Engliſh* Blood has drencht the Neighbouring Plains.
Nor ſhall we Bluſh to Boaſt what all Men own,
Uncommon *Engliſh* Valour has been ſhown,
The forward Courage of our *Ill Paid Men*,
Deſerves more Praiſe than Nature ſpares my Pen.

What cou'd they not perform, or what endure?
Witneſs the mighty Baſtions of *Namur*.
We faſted much, and we attempted more,
But ne'er cou'd come to giving thanks before,
Unleſs, 'twas when the Fatal ſtrife was o're.
Some ſecret *Achan* Curſt our Enterprize,
And *Iſrael* fled, before her Enemies.

Whether the Poiſonous Particles were hid,
In Us that Follow'd, *or in Them that Led*,
What Fatal Charm benum'd the Nations Sence,
To ſtruggle with Eternal Providence,
Whether ſome Curſe, or elſe ſome *Perjur'd Vow*,
Or ſome ſtrange Guilt that's expiated now?
Was it the *Pilots* who ill ſteer'd the *State*,
Or was it the Deciſive Will of Fate?
'Tis hard to tell, but this too well we know,
All things went backward, or went on too ſlow,
Small was the Glory, of our High *Succeſs*,
A tedious War, and an Imperfect Peace,
Peace Dearly purchas'd, and which Coſt us more
Great Kingdoms, than we Conquer'd *Towns* before.

Actions

Actions may miſs of their deſerv'd Applauſe,
When Heaven approves the Men, and not the Cauſe,
And well contriv'd Deſigns miſcarry when,
Heaven may approve the Cauſe but not the Men,
Here then's the Ground of our Expence of Blood,
The *Sword* of *Gideon's*, not the *Sword* of *God.*
The Mighty and the Wiſe are laid aſide,
And Victory the Sex *has Dignified,*
We have been us'd to *Female Conqueſts* here,
And *Queens* have been the Glory of the War,
The Scene Revives with Smiles of Providence,
All things Declin'd before, and Proſper ſince;
And as if Ill-Succeſs had been entail'd,
The Poſthume Projects are the laſt that fail'd,
As Heaven, whoſe works were hid from Human view,
Would blaſt our old Deſigns, and bleſs our new.
And now the Baffled Enterprize grows ſtale,
Their Hopes Decreaſe, and juſter Doubts prevail,
The unattempted *Town* ſings Victory,
And ſcar'd with VValls, and not with Men, we fly.
Great Conduct in our ſafe Retreat we ſhew,
And bravely Re-embark, when none purſue:
The Guns, the Ammunition's put on Board;
And what we could not plunder we reſtor'd.
And thus we quit the *Andaluſian* Shores,
Drencht with the *Spaniſh* Wine, and *Spaniſh* W——s.
With ſongs of ſcorn the *Arragonians* Sing,
And loud *Te Deums* make the Valleys Ring.

Uncommon Joys now raiſe the hopes of *Spain,*
And *Vigo* does their Plate-Fleet entertain.

The vaſt Galleons deep-ballaſt'd with O're,
Safely reach home to the *Galitian* Shore.
The Double Joy ſpreads from *Madrid* to *Rome*,
The *Engliſh* fled, the Silver Fleet's come home:
From thence it reaches to the Banks of *Po*,
And the loud Cannons let the *Germans* know,
The Rattling Volleys tell their ſhort-liv'd Joys,
And roar *Te Deum* out in Smoak and Noiſe.
To *Millan* next it flies on Wings of Fame,
There the Young Monarch and his Heroes came,
From ſad *Luzara*, and the *Mantuan* Walls,
To ſeek New Dangers and to reſcue *Cales*.
His Joy for welcome Treaſure he expreſt,
But grieves at his Good Fortune in the reſt,
The Flying *Engliſh* he had wiſh'd to ſtay,
To crown with Conqueſt one Victorious Day.

The Prieſts, in high Proceſſion ſhew their Joy,
And all the Arts of Eloquence employ,
To feed his Pride of fancy'd Victories,
And raiſe his un-try'd Valour to the Skies.
The flattering *Courtiers* his vain Mind Poſſeſs,
With Airy hopes of Conqueſt and Succeſs.
Prompt his Young thoughts to run on new Extreams,
And *Sycophantick* Pride his Heart Inflames:
His *Native Crime* ſprings up, his Pulſe beats high,
With thoughts of Univerſal Monarchy;
Fancies his Foreign Enemies ſuppreſt,
And boaſts too ſoon, how he'll ſubdue the reſt.
Princes like other Men are Blind to Fate,
He only ſees the Event who does the Cauſe Create.

From

From hence thro' *France* the Welcome Tidings fly,
To mock his ancient Sire with mushroom Joy.
Raptures possess the ambitious Heads of *France*,
And Golden Hopes their new Designs advance.
Now they Consult to Crush the World agen,
And talk of rifling *Christendom* for Men.

New Fleets, new Armies, and new Leagues contrive,
And swallow Men and Nations up alive.
Prescribe no Bounds to their ambitious Pride,
But first the Wealth, and then the World divide.
Excess of Pride, to airy Madness grows,
And makes Men strange Romantick Things propose.
The Head turns round, and all the Fancy's vain,
And makes the World as Giddy as the Brain.
Men that consult such weighty Things as those,
All possible Disasters should suppose.
In vain great Princes mighty Things Invent,
While Heaven retains the Power to prevent.
He that to General Mischief makes pretence,
Should first know how to Conquer Providence.
Such strive in vain, and only shew Mankind,
How Tyrants cloath'd with Power, are all enclin'd.

Mean while our Melancholy Fleet steers Home,
Some griev'd for past, for future Mischiefs some.
Disaster swells the Blood, and Spleen the Face;
And ripens them for glorious Things apace.
With deep Regret they turn their Eyes to *Spain*,
And wish they once might visit her again.

Little they Dreamt that Good which Heaven prepar'd,
No merit from below, no Signs from Heaven appear'd.
No hints unleſs from their high ripen'd Spleen,
And ſtrange ungrounded Sympathy within.

The ſilent Duke from all miſ-conduct free,
Alone enjoys the Calm of *Honeſty*:
Fears not his Journal ſhould be fairly ſhown,
And ſighs for *England*'s Errors, not his own.
His conſtant Temper's all Serene and Clear;
Firſt, free from Guilt, and therefore free from fear.

Not ſo the reſt for conſcious Thoughts become
More reſtleſs now, the nearer they come home.
The Party-making Feuds on Board begin:
For People always Quarrel when they Sin.
Reflect with ſhame upon the things mis-done,
And ſhift their Faults about from One to One.
Prepare Excuſes, and compute their Friends,
And dread the Fate, which their Deſert attends.
Some wiſh for Storms, and curſe the Wind and Sails;
And dream, no doubt of Gibbets and of Gaols;
Imaginary Puniſhments appear,
And ſuited to their ſecret Guilt's their fear:
Their haſt'ning Fate in their own Fancies Read,
And few, 'tis fear'd, their Innocence can plead.
Then their ſweet Spoils to truſty Hands convey,
And throw the *rifl'd Gods of Spain* away:
Diſgorge that Wealth they dare not entertain,
And wiſh the Nuns *their Maidenheads again.*
Diſmiſs their *Wealth* for fear of *Witneſſes*,
And purge their Coffers, and their Conſciences:

Curſing

Curſing their *ill got Trifles* but in vain:
For ſtill the Guilt, and ſtill the fears remain.

Tell us ye Rabbies of abſtruſer Senſe,
Who jumble Fate and Fools with Providence.
Is this the choſen Army, this the Fleet,
For which Heaven's Praiſes ſound in every Street?
Cou'd Heaven provide them one occaſion more,
Who had ſo ill-diſcharg'd themſelves before:
That Fleet ſo many former Millions loſt.
So little had Perform'd, ſo much had Coſt;
That Fleet, ſo often Mann'd with Knaves before,
That ſerv'd us all the War to make us Poor;
That twice had made their fruitleſs Voyage to *Spain*,
And ſaw the *Streights*, and *ſo came Home again*:
Our *Wooden Walls* that ſhould defend our Trade,
And many a *Witleſs*, *Wooden* Voyage ha' made,
How oft have they been fitted out in vain,
Waſted our Money, and deſtroy'd our Men,
Betray'd our Merchants, and expos'd their Fleets,
And caus'd Eternal Murmurs in our Streets?
The Nation's Genius ſure prevails above,
And Heaven conceals his Anger, ſhows his Love:
The Nations Guardian Angel has prevail'd,
And on her Guardian Queen new Favours has entail'd

Now let glad *Europe* in her turn rejoice,
And ſing new *Triumphs* with exalted Voice.
See the glad Poſt of *Tidings* wing'd with News,
With ſuited Speed the wondring Fleet purſues:
His haſte diſcern'd, increaſes their Surprize,
The more they wonder, and the more he flies.

Nor

Nor Wind, nor Seas, proportion'd ſpeed can bear;
For Joy and Hope have ſwifter Wings than Fear.
With what Surprize of Joy they meet the News!
Joys, that to every Vein new Spirits infuſe.
The wild Exceſs in Shouts and Cries appear:
For Joys and Griefs are all irregular.

Councils of War, for ſake of Forms they call,
But ſhame admits of no Diſputes at all.
How ſhould they differ, where no doubt can be?
But if they ſhou'd accept of Victory,
Whether they ſhou'd the great occaſion take,
Or baffle Heaven, *and double their miſtake?*
Whether the naked and defenceleſs Prize
They ſhou'd accept; Or Heaven, and that diſpiſe?
Whether they ſhou'd revive their Reputation;
Or ſink it twice, and *twice betray the Nation?*
Who dare the horrid Negative deſign?
Who dare the laſt ſuggeſt, the firſt decline?
Envy her ſelf: *For Satan's always there,*
And keeps his Councils with the God of War.
Tho' with her ſwelling Spleen ſhe ſeem'd to burſt,
Will'd the Deſign, while the Event ſhe curs'd.

The word's gone out, and now they ſpread the Main
With ſwelling Sails, and ſwelling Hopes for *Spain.*
With double Vengeance preſt, where e're they come,
Reſolv'd to pay the haughty *Spaniard* home.
Reſolv'd by future Conduct to attone,
For all our paſt Miſtakes, and all their own.
New Life ſprings up in every *Engliſh* Face,
And fits them all for glorious Things apace.

The

The Booty some excites, and some the Cause;
But more the Hope to gain their lost Applause.
Eager their sully'd Honour to restore,
Some Anger whets, some Pride and Vengeance more,

The lazy Minutes now pass on too slow:
Fancy flies faster than the Winds can blow.
Impatient Wishes lengthen out the Day;
They chide the loytering Winds for their delay.
But Time is Natures faithful Messenger,
And brings up all we wish, as well as all we fear.

The Mists clear up, and now the Scout discries
The subject of their Hopes and Victories:
The wish'd for Fleets embay'd, in Harbour lye,
Unfit to fight, and more unfit to fly.
Triumphant Joy throughout the Navy flies,
Eccho'd from Shore with Terrour and Surprize.
Strange Power of Noise! which at one simple sound,
At once shall some incourage, some confound.

In vain the Lion tangl'd in the snare
With Anguish roars, and rends the trembling Air.
'Tis vain to struggle with Almighty Fate:
Vain and impossible the weak Debate.
The Mighty Booms, the Forts resist in vain,
The Guns with fruitless Force *in Noise* complain.
See how the Troops intrepidly fall on!
Wish for more Foes; and think they fly too soon.
With eager Fury to their Forts pursue,
And think the odds of Four to One too few.

The Land's firſt Conquer'd, and the Prize attends,
Fate beckens in the Fleet to back their Friends.
Deſpair ſucceeds: They ſtruggle now too late,
And ſoon ſubmit to their prevailing Fate.
Courage is madneſs when Occaſion's paſt:
Death's the ſecureſt Refuge and the laſt.

And now the rolling Flames come threatning on,
And mighty ſtreams of melted Gold run down.
The flaming Oar down to its Center makes,
To form new Mines beneath the Oazy Lakes.

Here a Galeon with Spicy Drugs inflam'd,
In Odoriferous folds of Sulphur ſtream'd.
The Gods of old no ſuch Oblations knew,
Their Spices weak, and their Perfumes but few.
The frighted *Spaniards* from their *Treaſures* fly,
Loth to forſake their Wealth, *but loth to die.*

Here a vaſt Carrack flies, while none purſue,
Bulg'd on the Shoar by her Diſtracted Crew:
There like a mighty Mountain ſhe appears,
And Groans beneath the Golden weight ſhe bears.
Conqueſt perverts the Property of Friend,
And makes Men ruin what they can't defend.
Some blow their *Treaſure* up into the Air,
With all the wild Exceſſes of Deſpair.
Strange Fate! that War ſuch odd Events ſhou'd have;
Friends would deſtroy, and Enemies would ſave.
Others their *Safety* to their Wealth prefer,
Ann mix *ſome ſmall Deſcretion* with their Fear.

Life's

Life's the best Gift that Nature can bestow;
The first that we receive, the last which we forego:
And he that's *vainly Prodigal of Blood*,
Forfeits his *Sense* to do his Cause no good.
All Desperation's the Effect of Fear;
Courage is Temper, *Valour can't Despair*.

And now the Victory's compleatly gain'd;
No Ships to Conquer now, no Foes remain'd.
The mighty *Spoils* exceed what e'er was known,
That Vanquith'd ever lost, or Victor won.
So great, if Fame shall future Times remind,
They'll think she lyes, and Libels all Mankind.

Well may the Pious Queen New Anthems raise,
Sing her own Fortunes, and Her Makers Praise;
Invite the Nation willing *Thanks* to pay:
And well may all the mighty Ones obey.
So may they sing, be always so preserv'd.
By Grace unwish'd, and Conquest undeserv'd.

Now let us Welcome Home the Conquering Fleet,
And all their well atton'd Mistakes forget:
Such high Success shou'd all Resentments drown'd,
Nothing but joy and welcome should be found.
No more their past Miscarriages reprove;
But bury all in Gratitude and Love.
Let their high Conduct have a just Regard,
And meaner Merit meet a kind Reward.

But now what Fruits of Victory remain?
To Heaven what Praise, what Gratitude to Man?

Let

Let *France* ſing Praiſe for ſhams of Victories,
And mock their Maker with Religious Lies:
But *England* bleſt with thankful Hearts ſhall raiſe,
For mighty Conqueſts, mighty Songs of Praiſe.

She needs no falſe Pretences to deceive:
What all Men ſee, all Men muſt needs believe.
Our Joy can hardly run into Exceſs,
The well known Subject all our Foes confeſs:
We can't deſire more, they can't pretend no leſs.

ANNE, like her Great Progenitor, ſings Praiſe:
Like her ſhe Conquers, and like her ſhe Prays:
Like her ſhe Graces and Protects the *Throne*,
And counts the Lands Proſperity her own:
Like her, *and long like her*, be bleſs'd her Reign,
Crown'd with new Conqueſts, and more Fleets from
[*Spain*.

See now the Royal Chariot comes amain,
With all the willing Nation in her Train,
With humble Glory, and with ſolemn Grace,
Queen in her Eyes, and Chriſtian in her Face.
With Her, Her repreſented Subjects join;
And when ſhe Prays th' whole Nation ſays, *Amen*.

With Her, in Stalls the Illuſtrious Nobles ſat,
The Cherubims and Seraphims of State:
ANNE like a Comet in the Center ſhone,
And they like Stars that circumfere the Sun.
She Great in them, and they as Great in Her;
Sure Heaven will ſuch Illuſtrious Praiſes hear.
The crouding Millions hearty Bleſſings pour:
Saint Paul *ne'er ſaw but one ſuch Day before.*

The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England, *Examined and Asserted.*

To the KING.

SIR,

'TIS not the least of the Extraordinaries of Your Majesty's Character, That as you are King of Your People, so You are the Peoples King.

This Title, as it is the Most Glorious, so is it the Most Indisputable in the World.

God himself appointed, the Prophet proclaim'd, but the Peoples assent was the finishing the Royal Authority of the first King of *Israel*.

Your Majesty, among all the Blessings of Your Reign, has restor'd this, as the best of all our Enjoyments, the full Liberty of Original Right in its Actings and Exercise.

Former Reigns have Invaded it, and the last thought is totally suppress't, but as Liberty revived under Your Majesty's just Authority, this was the first Flower she brought forth.

The Author of these Sheets humbly hopes, That what Your Majesty has so Gloriously Restor'd, what our Laws and Constitution have Declared and Setled, and what Truth and Justice openly appears for, he may be allow'd to Vindicate.

Your Majesty knows too well the Nature of Government, to think it at all the less Honourable, or the more Precarious, for being Devolv'd from and Center'd in the Consent of your People.

The pretence of Patriarchal Authority, had it really an uninterrupted Succession, can never be supported against the demonstrated Practice of all Nations; but being

being also Divested of the chief Support it might have had, if that Succession could have been prov'd: The Authority of Governours *Jure Divino* has sunk Ignominiously to the Ground, as a prepostorous and inconsistent Forgery.

And yet, if *Vox Populi* be, as 'tis generally allow'd, *Vox Dei*, Your Majesty's Right to these Kingdoms *Jure Divino*, is more plain than any of Your Predecessors.

How happy are these Nations, after all the Oppressions and Tyranny of Arbitrary Rulers, to obtain a King who Reigns by the universal Voice of the People, and has the greatest share in their Affections that ever any Prince enjoy'd, Queen *Elizabeth* only accepted.

And how vain are the Attempts of a Neighbouring Prince, to Nurse up a *Contemptible Impostor*, upon the pretence of Forming a Claim on the Foundation of but a pretended Succession, against the Consent of the general Suffrage of the Nation.

To what purpose shall all the Proofs of his Legitimacy be, *supposing it could be made out*, when the universal Voice of the People already express'd in enacted Laws, shall answer, *We will not have this Man to Reign over us.*

May this Affection of Your Subjects continue to the latest Hour of Your Life, and may Your Satisfaction be such as may convince the World, *That the Chiefest Felicity of a Crown consists in the Affections, as the first Authority of it derives from the Consent of the People.*

To the LORDS Spiritual and Temporal, and the COMMONS of *England.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE *Vindication of the Original Right of all Men to the Government of themselves, is so far from a Derogation from, that it is a Confirmation of your Legal Authority.*

Your Lordships, who are of the Nobility, have your Original Right, your Titles and Dignities from the Greatness of your

your Shares in the Freeholds of the Nation: If Merit has raised any of your Ancestors to distinguishing Honours, or, if the Royal Favours of Princes has Dignified Families, it has always been thought fit to bestow, or to enable them to Purchase a Portion of the Freehold of England *to be annexed to the said Titles, to make such Dignities rational, as well as to support the Succession of Honour.*

From hence you are Vested with Sovereign Judicature, as being the propereſt to be truſted with the Diſtribution of Juſtice in that Country, of which you were ſuppoſed to have, and once had, the principal Propriety.

From hence you ſit in Parliament as a Branch of our Conſtitution, being part of the Collective Body, repreſenting no Body but your ſelves; and as a Teſtimony that the Original of all Power Centers in the whole.

The reſt of the Freeholders have Originally a Right to ſit there with you, but being too numerous a Body, they have long ſince agreed that whenever the King thinks fit to adviſe with his People, they will chuſe a certain few out of their Great Body to meet together with your Lordſhips.

Here, in ſhort, is the Original of Parliaments, and here, if Power at any time meets with a Ceſs, if Government and Thrones become Vacant, to this Original all Power of Courſe returns. This is the happy Center in the great Circle of Politick Order.

From hence at the late Revolution, when the King deſerted the Adminiſtration, and His preſent Majeſty was in Arms in England, *Nature directed the People to have Recourſe to your Lordſhips, and to deſire your Appearance as the Heads of the great Collective Body; and all the Champions for the great Arguments of Divine Right could not in that Exigence have Recourſe to one Preſident, nor to One Rule of Proceeding, but what Nature would have Dictated to the Meaneſt Judgment,* viz. That the Nation being left without a Governour, the Proprietors ſhould meet to conſider of another.

And you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, *who are the Repreſentatives of your Country, you are this great Collective Body in Minature, you are an Abridgment of the many Volumes of the* Engliſh *Nation.*

To you they have trusted jointly with the King and the Lords, the Power of making Laws, raising Taxes, and Impeaching Criminals: But how? 'Tis in the Name of all the Commons of England, *whose Representatives you are.*

All your Power is yours, as you are a Full and Free Representative. I no where atempt to prove what Powers *you have not, possibly the Extent of your Legal Authority was never fully understood, nor have you ever thought fit to Explain it. But this I may be bold to advance, That whatever* Powers *you have, or may have, you cannot Exercise but in the Name of the* Commons of England, *and you enjoy them as their Representative, and for their Use.*

All this is not said to lessen your Authority; Nor can it be the Interest of any English Freeholder *to lessen the Authority of the* Commons *assembled in* Parliament.

You are the Conservators of our Liberties, the Expositors of our Laws, the Levyers of our Taxes, and the Redressors of our Grievances, the King's best Councellors, and the Peoples last Refuge.

But if you are Dissolved, for you are not Immortal; or if you are Deceived, for you are not Infallible; 'twas never yet supposed, till very lately, that all Power *dies with you.*

You may Die, but the People remain; you may be Dissolved, and all immediate Right may cease; Power may have its Intervals, and Crowns their Interregnum; *but Original Power endures to the same Eternity the World endures to: And while there is People, there may be a Legal Authority Delegated, though all Succession of Substituted Power were at an End.*

Nor have I advanced any new Doctrine, nothing but what is as ancient as Nature, and born into the World with our Reason: And I think it would be a Sin against the Parliament of England, *to suggest that they would be offended either with the Doctrine or with the Author, since 'tis what their own Authority is built upon, and what the* Laws of England *have given their assent unto by confirming the Acts of the last* Collective Body of the People, *from whence the present Settlement of the Nation does derive.*

Where-

Wherefore I make no Apology for Protection or Favour as to the Fact; as to Language I am ready to ask Pardon if I offend, declaring my Intention is neither for nor againſt either Perſon or Party. As there is but One Intereſt *in the Nation, I wiſh there were but* One Party, *and that Party would adhere to Unbyaſs'd Juſtice, and purſue the Honour and Intereſt of the* Proteſtant Religion, *and the* Engliſh Liberty.

The Original Right of the People of England, *Examined and Aſſerted.*

I Have obſerv'd, when Intereſt obliges any Perſon or Party to defend the Cauſe they have Eſpous'd, they pleaſe themſelves with fancying they conceal their private Deſigns, by covering their Diſcourſes with Gay Titles.

Like a late Act of Parliament, which in the Preamble calls it ſelf, *An Act for the Relief of Creditors*, but in its Effect was really *an Act for the Relief of Debtors.*

Thus ſome Gentlemen place fine ſpecious Titles on their Books, as *Jura Populi Anglicani*, *A Vindication of the Rights of the Commons of* England, and a *Vindication of the Rights of the Lords*, and the like; and with large and high Encomiums upon the Excellency of our Conſtitution, treat the levity of ſome Peoples Judgments with fine Notions; whereas the true End and Deſign is defending the Intereſt and Party they have Eſpous'd.

The Defence of the Rights of the Repreſentative Body of the People, underſtood by the Name of the Commons of *England* in Parliament, *is a great Point*; and ſo plain are their Rights, that 'tis no extraordinary Task to defend them: But for any Man to advance, that they are ſo Auguſt an Aſſembly that no Objection ought to be

made to their Actions, nor no Reflection upon their Conduct, though the Fact be true; and that it is not to be examin'd whether the Thing ſaid be true, but what Authority the Perſon ſpeaking has to ſay it, *is a Doctrine wholly new*, and ſeems to me to be a Badge of more Slavery to our own Repreſentative than ever the People of *England* owes them, or than ever they themſelves expected.

This therefore, together with ſome Invaſions of the Peoples Rights made publick by ſeveral Modern Authors, are the Reaſons why I have adventur'd, *being wholly Diſintereſted and Unconcerned either for Perſons or Parties*, to make a ſhort Eſſay at declaring the Rights of the People of *England*, not Repreſentatively but Collectively conſidered.

And with due Deference to the Repreſentative Body of the Nation, I hope I may ſay, *it can be no Diminution of their Rights*, to aſſert the Rights of that Body from whom they derive the Powers and Priviledges of their Houſe, and which are the very Foundation of their Being. For if the Original Right of the People be overthrown, the Power of the Repreſentative, which is ſubſequent and ſubordinate, muſt dye of it ſelf.

And becauſe I have to do rather with Reaſon and the Nature of the Thing, than with Laws and Precedents, I ſhall make but very little uſe of Authors, and Quotations of Statutes, ſince Fundamentals and Principles are ſuperior to Laws or Examples.

To come directly to what I deſign in the following Papers, 'tis neceſſary to lay down ſome Maxims, other than what a late * Author has furniſh'd us with.

* Sir *H. M.* Vindication of the Commons.

1. *Salus Populi ſuprema Lex*, all Government and conſequently our whole Conſtitution, was originally deſign'd, and is maintain'd, for the Support of the Peoples Property, who are the Governed.

2. That all the Members of Government, whether King, Lords or Commons, if they Invert the Great

End

End of their Institution, the publick Good cease to be in the same publick Capacity,

And Power retreats to its Original.

3. That no Collective or Representative Body of Men whatsoever, in Matters of Politicks any more than Religion, *are or ever have been Infallible.*

4. That Reason is the Test and Touch-stone of Laws, and that all Law or Power that is Contradictory to Reason, is *ipso facto* void in it self, and ought not to be obeyed.

These four Generals run through the whole following Discourse.

Some other Maxims less General are the Consequence of these; as,

First, That such Laws as are agreeable to Reason and Justice being once made, are binding both to King, Lords and Commons, either separately, or conjunctively, till they are actually Repealed in due Form.

That if either of the Three Powers do Dispence with, Suspend, or otherwise Break any of the known Laws so made, they Injure the Constitution; and the Power so acting ought to be restrained by the other Powers not concurring according to what is lately allowed, *That every Branch of Power is designed as a Check upon each other.*

Sir H. M. *Vindication of the Commons.*

But if all the Three Powers should join in such an Irregular Action, The Constitution suffers a Convulsion, Dies, and is Dissolved of Course.

Nor does it suffice to say, That King, Lords and Commons can do no wrong, since *the mutual Consent of Parties*, on which that foolish Maxim is grounded, does not extend to every Action King, Lords and Commons are capable of doing.

There are Laws which respect the Common Rights of the People, as they are the Parties to be Governed, and with respect to these the King can do no Wrong,

but all is laid upon his Miniſters———who are accountable.

And there are Laws which particularly reſpect the Conſtitution ; the King, Lords and Commons, as they are the Parties governing : In this regard each Branch, may Wrong and Oppreſs the other, or altogether, may do Wrong to the People they are made to Govern.

The King may Invade the Peoples Properties, and if the Lords and Commons omit to defend and protect them: *they all do Wrong* by a Tacit approving thoſe Abuſes they ought to oppoſe.

The Commons may extend their Power to an exorbitant Degree, in Impriſoning the Subjects, Diſpenſing with the *Habeas Corpus* Act, giving unlimited Power to their Sergeant to Oppreſs the People in his Cuſtody, withholding Writs of Election from Burroughs and Towns and ſeveral other Ways ; which if they are not Check'd either by the King, or the Lords, *they are altogether Parties to the Wrong*, and the Subject is apparently injured.

The Lords may Err in Judicature, and deny Juſtice to the Commons, or delay it upon Punctillioes and ſtudied Occaſions, and if neither the King nor the Commons take care to prevent it, Delinquents are excuſed, and Criminals encouraged, *and all are Guilty of the Breach of Common Juſtice.*

That to prevent this, it is abſolutely neceſſary that in Matters of diſpute the ſingle Powers ſhould be Governed by the Joint, and that nothing ſhould ſo be inſiſted upon as to break the Correſpondence.

That the Three ſhould be directed by the Law ; and where that is ſilent, by Reaſon.

That every Perſon concern'd in the Law is in his Meaſure a judge of the Reaſon, and therefore in his proper place ought *to be allowed to give his Reaſon in Caſe of Diſſent.*

That every ſingle Power has an abſolute Negative upon the Acts of the Other ; and if the People, who are

are without Doors, find Reason to Object, *they may do it by Petition.*

But because under pretence of Petitioning, Seditious and Turbulent People may foment Disturbances, Tumults and Disorders: The Subjects Right of Petitioning being yet recogniz'd and preserv'd, the Circumstances of such Petitions are regulated by Laws, as to the Numbers and Qualities of the Persons Petitioning.

But the Laws have no where prescrib'd the Petitioners to any Form of Words, and therefore no pretence of Indecency of Expression can be so Criminal as to be destructive of the Constitution; because, though it may deserve the Resentment of the Petitioned, yet it is not an illegal Act, nor a Breach of any Law.

And yet the Representative Body of the People ought not to be Banter'd or Affronted neither, at the Will and Pleasure of any private Person without Doors, who finds Cause to Petition them.

But if any Expression be offensive to the House, it seems Reasonable that the Persons who are concerned therein should be requir'd to explain themselves: And if upon such Explanation the House find no Satisfaction as to the particular Affront, they are at Liberty to proceed as the Law directs; but no otherwise.

And to me, the Silence of the Law in that Case seems to imply, that rejecting the Petition is a Contempt due to any Indecency of that Nature, and as much Resentment as the Nature of the Thing requires: But as to breaking in upon Personal Liberty, which is a Thing the Law is so tender of, and has made so strong a Fence about, I dare not affirm 'tis a justifiable Procedure; no, not in the House of Commons.

It is alledged, That it has been practiced by all Parliaments; which is to me far from an Argument to prove the Legality of it.

I think it may pass for a Maxim, That a Man cannot be Legally punish'd for a Crime which there is no Law to prosecute. Now since there is no Law to prosecute a Man for Indecency of Expression in a Petition to the

House of Commons, it remains a doubt with me how they can be Legally punish'd.

Precedents are of Use to the Houses of Parliament where the Laws are silent, in Things relating to themselves, and are doubtless a sufficient Authority to act from. But whether any Precedent, Usage or Custom, of any Body of Men whatever, can make a Thing Lawful which the Laws have expressly forbid, remains a Doubt with me.

It were to be wish'd some of our Parliaments would think fit, at one Time or another, to clear up the Point of the Authority of the House of Commons, in Case of imprisoning such as are not of their House, that having the Matter stated by those who are the only Expositors of our Laws, we might be troubled with no more *Legion Libels*, to tell them what is, or is not, Legal in their Proceedings.

The Good of the People Governed is the End of all Government, and the Reason and Original of Governnors; and upon this Foundation it is that it has been the Practice of all Nations, and of this in particular, That if the Male-Administration of Governors have extended to Tyranny and Oppression, to Destruction of Right and Justice, overthrowing the Constitution, and abusing the People, the People have thought it Lawful to Reassume the Right of Government in their own Hands, and to reduce their Governors to Reason.

The present Happy Restoring of our Liberty and Constitution is owing to this Fundamental Maxim,

That Kings when they descend to Tyranny,
Dissolve the Bond, and leave the Subject free.

If the People are Justifiable in this Procedure against the King, I hope I shall not be censur'd if I say, *That if any one should ask me, whether they have not the same Right, in the same Cases, against any of the Three Heads of the Constitution.* I dare not answer in the Negative.

I

I may be allow'd to suppose any Thing which is possible; and I will therefore venture to suppose, That in the late King's Reign the House of Commons, then sitting, had Voted the Restoration of Popery in *England*, in Compliance with the King's Inclination.

I doubt not but it had been Lawful for the *Grand Juries*, *Justices of the Peace*, and *Free-holders of any County*, or of every County, to have Petition'd the House of Commons not to proceed in giving up their Religion and Laws.

And in Case of Refusal there, they might Petition the House of Lords not to have pass'd such a Bill.

And in Case of Refusal there, they might Petition the King, and put Him in Mind of His Coronation Engagement.

And in Case of Refusal to that Petition, they might Petition the King again to Dissolve the Parliament, or otherwise to protect their Liberties and Religion.

And if all these Peaceable Applications fail'd, I doubt not but they might Associate for their Mutual Defence against any Invasion of their Liberties and Religion, and apply themselves to any Neighbouring Power or Potentate for Assistance and Protection.

If this be not true, I can give but a slender Account of our late Revolution; which nevertheless I think to be founded upon the exact Principles of Reason and Justice.

Nor will the Pretence of Indecency of Expression be any Argument to bar the Subject of his Right of Petitioning, or justifie the ill Treatment of such Petitioners: For the Case exceedingly differs from the supposed Case of the Lord Chancellor, and the Complaint which a late Author brings in, desiring the Lord Chancellor *to turn his plausible Speeches into Righteous Decrees.*

First of all, The Freeholders of *England* stand in a different Capacity to the Members of the House, who are their *Trustees*, their *Attorneys*, their *Representatives*, from that of a Complainant in *Chancery* to the Judge of that Court.

Secondly,

Secondly, The Lord Chancellor has a Right by Law to Commit for perſonal Affronts offered in Court: Whether the Houſe of Commons have the ſame Right by Law I know not, nor will not undertake to determine; but I do not find that Worthy Member has yet attempted to prove they have.

Thirdly, This is Arguing from the Inferiour Court to the Parliament of *England*, which is directly againſt Sir *H. M.*'s late Poſition, *Fol.* 4. where he had, as I ſuppoſe, forgot that he had laid us down this Rule.

"*When there is Occaſion to Debate concerning theſe Supe-*
"*riour Powers of King, Lords and Commons, we muſt not*
"*argue like Lawyers in* Weſtminſter-Hall, *from the nar-*
"*row Foundation of private Cauſes of* Meum *and* Tuum;
"*but like Stateſmen and Senators, from the Large and No-*
"*ble Foundation of Government, and the general Good of the*
"*King and People.*

Fourthly, But I am alſo informed, that the Caſe is wrong too, and that even in that Inſtance: The Lord Chancellor had no Power to Commit to the *Fleet*, unleſs it were an Affront, *Viva Voce*, in Court.

Nor would it be any Argument in the ſuppoſed Caſe I am upon, for any Body to ſay, That the Occaſion muſt concern that part of the Country from whence ſuch Petition is brought: For the Introducing of Popery would certainly concern every County of *England*.

And ſuppoſe again, the eople thought themſelves in danger of an Invaſion from *France*, and thereupon the Counties of *Kent* and *Suſſex* ſhould have Petitioned the Houſe to take them into Conſideration, who, in ſuch Caſe, were like to be the Seat of the War, and firſt Expoſed to the Enemy; Would any Body ſay, the Occaſion did not ariſe in the County from whence ſuch Petition did proceed.

In this *Univerſal Right of the People* conſiſts Our general Safety: For notwithſtanding all the Beauty of our Con-

Constitution, and the exact Symetry of its Parts, about which some have been so very Elegant, *this noble well-contrived System has been Overwhelmed*; the Government has been Inverted, the Peoples Liberties have been trampled on, and Parliaments have been rendred useless and insignificant: And *what has restored us?* The last Resort has been to the People; *Vox Dei has been found there*, not in the *Representatives*, but in their Original the *Represented*.

And what has been the Engine that has led the Nation to it? The Reason and Nature of the Thing. Reason governs Men when they are Masters of their Sences, as naturally as Fire flies upwards, or Water descends.

For what is it that King, Lords and Commons assemble? 'Tis to Reason together concerning the weighty Matters of the State, and to Act and Do for the Good of the People, what shall be agreeable to Reason and Justice.

I grant 'tis reasonable that every Branch should be vested with due Powers, and those Powers be equally distributed.

But if they must be vested with Power, some Body must vest them with it: If these Powers must be distributed, some Body must distribute them. So that

There must be some Power *Prior* to the Power of King, Lords and Commons, from which, as the Streams from the Fountain, the Power of King, Lords and Commons is derived.

And what are all the different Terms which Statesmen turn so often into fine Words to serve their Ends; as, *Reason of State*, *Publick Good*, the *Commonwealth*, the *English Constitution*, the *Government*, the *Laws of* England, the *Liberties of* England, the *Fleets*, the *Armies*, the *Militia of* England, the *Trade*, the *Manufactures of England*? All are but several Terms drawn from and reducible to the great Term, the *People of* England. That's the General, which contains all the Particulars, and which *had all Power before any of the Particulars had a Being*. And from this Consideration it is, that some

who

who yet would be Oppoſers of this Doctrine, ſay, *when it ſerves their Turn*, that all the Great Offices which have the Title of *England* annexed to them, ought to be Nominated and Approv'd by the People of *England*, as the High Chancellor of *England*, High Admiral of *England*, and the like.

That Power which is Original, is Superior; *God is the Fountain of all Power, and therefore is the Supreme*: And if we could ſuppoſe a Prior and Original of the Divine Power, *that Original would be God*, and be Superiour; for all ſubſequent Power muſt be ſubject and inferiour to the precedent.

The Power veſted in the Three Heads of our Conſtitution is veſted in them by the People of *England*, who were a People before there was ſuch a thing as a Conſtitution.

And the Nature of the Thing, is the Reaſon of the Thing: It was veſted in them by the People, becauſe the People were the only Original of their Power, being the only Power Prior *to the Conſtitution.*

For the publick Good of the People, a Conſtitution and Government was Originally Formed; from the mutual Conſent of theſe People the Powers and Authorities of this Conſtitution are derived: And for the preſervation of this Conſtitution, and enabling it to anſwer the Ends of its Inſtitution in the beſt manner poſſible, thoſe Powers were divided.

The ſecond Maxim is a Rational Natural Conſequence of the former, That at the *final, Caſual, or any other* Determination of this Conſtitution, the Powers are diſſolv'd, and all Authority muſt derive *de novo* from the firſt Fountain, Original and Cauſe of all Conſtitutions, *the Governed.*

Now it cannot be ſuppos'd this Original Fountain ſhould give up all its Waters, but that it reſerves a Power of ſupplying the Streams: Nor has the Streams any power to turn back upon the Fountain, and invert its own Original. All ſuch Motions are Excentrick and Unnatural.

There

There must always remain a Supream Power in the Original to supply, in Case of the Dissolution of Delegated Power.

The People of *England* have Delegated all the Executive Power *in the King*, the Legislative in the *King, Lords and Commons*, the Soveraign Judicature *in the Lords*, the Remainder is reserv'd in themselves, and not committed, no not to their Representatives: All Powers Delegated are to one Great End and Purpose, and no other, and that is *the Publick Good*. If either, or all the Branches to whom this Power is Delegated invert the Design, the End of their Power, the Right they have to that Power ceases; and they become Tyrants and Usurpers of a Power they have no Right to.

The Instance has been visible as to Kings in our Days; and History is full of Precedents in all Ages, and in all Nations; particularly in *Spain*, in *Portugal*, in *Swedeland*, in *France*, and in *Poland*.

But in *England*, the late Revolution is a particular Instance of the Exercise of this Power.

King *James*, on the Approach of a Foreign Army, and the general recourse of the People to Arms, fled out of the Kingdom. What must the People of *England* do? They had no Reason to run after him; there was no Body to call a Parliament, so the Constitution was entirely Dissolv'd.

The Original of Power, *the People*, Assembled in Convention, to consider of Delegating New Powers for their future Government, and accordingly made a New Settlement of the Crown, a New Declaration of Right, and a New Representative of the People; *and what if I should say they ought to have given a New Sanction to all precedent Laws.*

It remains to argue from hence, But what Course must the People of *England* take, if their Representatives exercise the Power entrusted with them, to the Ruine of the Constitution?

It has been advanced, That every Man must submit, and not presume to argue against it upon any Supposition of Mismanagement. I can

I can see no Reason given to confirm such a Position; for unless we will place the Original of Power in the Persons Representing, not in the Persons Represented, it cannot be made out that there ought to be no complaint upon the score of our Mismanagement.

It is not the Design of this Discourse to lessen the Authority of Parliament: But all Power must Centre some where. If it is in the Three Branches of the Constitution, 'tis there inherently and originally, or it is there by Deputation. If it be there by Deputation, then there must be a Power Deputing, and that must be both *Prior*, and consequently Superiour to the Deputed, *as before.*

If we will come off of this, we must fly to the old weak Refuge of a Power *Jure Divino*, a Doctrine which the most famed Pretenders to, have liv'd to be asham'd of, and whose Foundation is so weak, that 'tis not worth while to expose it.

I should therefore have been very glad, that for the Perfecting the Defence of the *English* Constitution, the Gentlemen who have begun so well, would have gone forward to Recognize the Power of the People of *England*, and their undoubted Right to judge of the Infractions made in their Constitution, by either Parties abusing the particular Powers vested in them; and inverting them, by turning them against the People they are design'd to defend.

That they would have stated fairly what the People of *England* are to do, if their Representatives shall hereafter betray the Liberties or Religion of the People they are intrusted with the Defence of.

What by the Laws of Nature and Reason is to be expected, and what by the Laws of our Constitution are allow'd.

To say, It cannot be suppos'd the House of Commons can ever betray their Trust, is a Compliment: No Man is bound to make them, *Humanum est Errare.* We have seen Parliaments Err, and do what succeeding Parliaments have thought fit to undoe. *And as that*

which

which has been may be, so that may be which never has been before.

We have seen Parliaments comply with Kings to the Ruine of the Nation; and we have seen Parliaments Quarrel with Kings, to the Overturning of the Constitution, Dissolving the House of Lords, and Suppressing the Monarchy.

We have seen Parliaments concur so with the Fate and Fortunes of Princes, as to comply backward and forward, in Deposing and Reinthroning alternately two Kings as often as Victory put power into their Hands, I mean *Henry* the Sixth, and *Edward* the Fourth, who were Kings and Prisoners five or six times, and always the Parliament complied with the Conqueror's.

We have seen a Parliament of *England* confirm the Usurpation of *Richard* the Third, the greatest Tyrant and most bloody Man that ever *England* brought forth.

We have seen a *Parliament* confirm *Henry* the Seventh, who really had no Right at all by Succession, and Rescind all the precedent *Parliament* had done.

Afterwards, in Matters of Religion, King *Henry* the Eighth made a *Popish Parliament* pull down the Supremacy of *Rome*, and set up the King's; and afterwards suppress all the Religious Houses in the Nation. His Son pulled up Popery by the Roots, and planted the Reformation, *still the Parliament complied.* Queen *Mary* Re-establish'd Popery, and unravelled both the Reformation of King *Edward*, and all the Acts of Church and State relating to her Mother's Divorce, *and still the Parliament consented.* One *Parliament* Voted Queen *Mary* Legitimate, and Queen *Elizabeth* a Bastard: Another *Parliament* Legitimated Queen *Elizabeth*, and Repudiated Queen *Mary*. Queen *Elizabeth* undid all her Sister had done, and suppress'd all the proceedings of Popery; and *all was by Authority of Parliament*..

So that this Parliamentary Branch of Power is no more Infallible than the Kingly.

Had Sir *H. M.* gone on to have Recogniz'd the Peoples Right, to preserve their own Liberties in case of failure

failure in any, or in all the Branches of the Conſtituted Power, he had compleated his *Vindication of the Commons of England*, which no Man could have done better than himſelf.

If then upon the Subverſion of the Laws, and Interruption of Common Juſtice, the Center of Power is in the People, *a Fortiori*. The People are alſo concerned in every Degree of ſuch a Subverſion.

And 'tis the moſt reaſonable thing in the World, that thoſe who upon a total Subverſion are the Sufferers, and have a Right to the Re-eſtabliſhment, ſhould have a Right to take Cogniſance of any Degree of Invaſion made upon their Right, and which tends to that general Subverſion.

'Twould be Nonſence to ſuppoſe, that which has all the Greater Powers ſhould not have the Leſs.

Can the Peoples Good be the main and only End of Government, and the Peoples Power be the laſt Reſort when Government is Overwhelmed by the Errors of Governors? and have theſe People no Right, not ſo much as to be ſenſible of the Ruine of their Liberties, till it is abſolutely compleated? 'Twould be ridiculous.

The truth is in right Reaſoning, the firſt Invaſion made upon Juſtice, either by the tacit or actual Aſſent of the three Heads of our Conſtitution, is an actual Diſſolution of the Conſtitution; and, for ought I can ſee, the People have a right to diſpoſſeſs the Incumbent, and commit the Truſt of Government, *de Novo*, upon that firſt Act.

But I chuſe rather to put the Argument upon total Subverſions of Right, Order and Defence, and I am ſure no Body will diſpute it with me there.

And here, if I have any foreſight, lies an abſolute Security for us againſt that Bug-bear, which ſo many pretend to be frighted at, *a Commonwealth*.

The *Genius* of this Nation has always appear'd to tend to a Monarchy, a legal limited Monarchy; and having had in the late Revolution a full and uninterrupted Liberty, to Caſt themſelves into what Form of Government they

they pleas'd: There was not discovered the least Inclination in any Party towards a *Commonwealth*, tho' the Treatment they met with from their last two Kings, had all in it that could be, to put them out of Love with Monarchy.

A Commonwealth can never be introduc'd, but by such Invasions of Right as must make our Constituted Government impracticable: The Reason is, because Men never willingly change for the Worst; and the People of *England* enjoy more Freedom in our Regal, than any People in the World can do in a popular Government.

The People of *England* can never chuse a Commonwealth Government, till they come to desire less Liberty than they now enjoy; that is, till they come to be blind to their own Interest. 'Tis true, Example is no Argument; but I might freely Appeal to the Friends of the Last Republick in *England* to answer this Question.

Whether the People of *England*, during the short Government of Parliament in *England*, which was erroneously called a Common-wealth, did, or whether they can under any Commonwealth Government, founded never so wisely, enjoy greater Priviledges and Advantages than under the present Constitution in its full and free Exercise, uninterrupted by the Excesses of Kings, evil Councellors, Parties and Passions.

If any shall pretend that the late Parliament is aimed at in this, I hope I may have as much Liberty to suppose they are Mistaken; *for the Days of Judging by* Inuendo *are at an end.*

If any thing seem to lie that way, the Error must be theirs who have so mean thoughts of them, as to think the Coat will fit them; *if it does, they are welcome to wear it.* For my part, I declare my self to intend only the bringing things to such a right Understanding, as may preserve the Ballance of Power; and, I hope, I cannot offend any Free Representative of the People of *England* in saying, that *What Power they have they receive from the People they represent*, and, *That some Powers do still re-*

main with the People, which they never neither diveſted themſelves of, nor committed to them.

Nor can I be ſenſible of offending, if I ſay, that *'Tis poſſible for even a Houſe of Commons to be in the Wrong.* 'Tis poſſible for a Houſe of Commons to be miſled by Factions and Parties. 'Tis poſſible for them to be Brib'd by Penſions and Places, and by either of theſe Extreams to betray their Truſt, and abuſe the People who entruſt them: And if the People ſhould have no Redreſs in ſuch a Caſe, then would the Nation be in the hazard of being ruined by their own Repreſentatives. And 'tis a wonder to find it aſſerted in a certain Treatiſe, *That it is not to be ſuppoſed that ever the Houſe of Commons can Injure the People who intruſt them.* There can be no better way to demonſtrate the poſſibility of a Thing, than by proving that it has been already.

And we need go no farther back than to the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, in which we have ſeen Liſts of 180 Members who received private Penſions from the Court; and if any Body ſhall ask whether that Parliament preſerv'd the Ballance of Power in the three Branches of our Conſtitution, in the due diſtribution ſome have mentioned, *I am not afraid to anſwer in the Negative.*

And why even to this day are Gentlemen ſo fond of ſpending their Eſtates to ſit in that Houſe, that Ten thouſand Pounds have been ſpent at a time to be Choſen, and now that way of procuring Elections, is at an end, *private Briberies* and Clandeſtine Contrivances are made uſe of to get into the Houſe. *No Man would give a Groat to ſit where he cannot get a Groat honeſtly for ſitting, unleſs there were either Parties to gratifie, Profits to be made, or Intereſt to ſupport.*

If then theſe things are poſſible, it ſeems to me not ſo improper for the People, who are the Original and End of the Conſtitution, and have the main Concern in it, to be very ſollicitous that the due Ballance of Power be preſerv'd, and decently; and, according to to Law, always to ſhew their Diſlike and Reſentment

at

at any publick Encroachment which either Branch of the Constitution, shall make on each other, or on the the whole, be it by their own Representatives or any where else.

If it is expected, that I should descend to particular Matters, debated between the two Houses in the last Session of this present Parliament; such Expectants will be deceived: I shall not meddle with a Case which appears so difficult to be decided, that the two Houses of Parliament could not agree about.

And since, as I said before, every Person who takes upon him to speak to or of the Parliament, ought to have liberty to Explain himself; so I have taken that Liberty in the Preface to this Book, to which I refer. But this in General I may say, for I am upon Generals, and shall keep to them without any relation to particular Cases.

It cannot be that the *People of England*, who have so much Concern in the good Agreement of their Governhours, can see the Two Houses of Parliament at any time Clash with one another, or with the King, or the King with them; or Encroach upon the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, and be Unconcern'd, and not express their Fears.

If any Fellow Subject be Impeach'd, to see the Disputes between the Two Houses about Punctilioes of Form, interrupt the due and ordinary Course of Justice; so that a Criminal cannot be Detected, nor an Innocent Man be Justified, but such Impeachments shall lie as a Brand upon the Reputation of an Innocent Person, *which is a Punishment worse than his Crime deserv'd, if he were Guilty*. These are Injuries to the Subject in general, and they cannot be easie to see them.

We have a great Cry against an Evil Ministry, the noise of which is so great, as it drowns the Complaints of the People; but I dare say none of the People of *England* would be against having due Resentments shown, and legal Punishments inflicted with impartial Justice, where the Persons appear Guilty: But if Enquiry after

Disorders at Home should delay taking care of our Safety Abroad; if private Clashings and Disputes between Parties and Interests should take up the Hours which are due to the Emergency of Foreign Affairs, the People of *England* will be very ill serv'd; and the Persons, whoever they are concerned, will be able to give but a sorry account to the Country that employ'd them of the Trust they had committed to them: Not that Delinquents should not be punish'd, or Evil Ministers Impeach'd, but, as our Saviour says in another Case, *These things ye ought to have done, and not have the other left undone*

What shall we then say to the manner of fixing Guilt upon a Person or a Party by Vote. That the Lords denying a free Conference, was a Delay of Justice, and tended to destroy the good Correspondence, *&c.* and refusing to proceed to the Tryal of one Impeach'd Lord, because another Lord, not Impeach'd, had affronted the House.

Truly I shall venture to say nothing of it but this, That the Clashings and Disagreement between the two Houses are things our Enemies rejoyc'd at, and the People of *England* were very sorry for. Who are in the right of it Sir *H. M.* must answer for me, who says, *It is not to be imagin'd that a Majority of so numerous a Body of Gentlemen can be influenc'd against Reason and Justice.* But at the same time supposes the Lords may, by receiving Articles of Impeachment to Day, and appointing to Try them Forty Years hence, or else to morrow Morning at *Truro* in *Cornwall.*

If he means that it is not probable, I readily allow it; but if he means that 'tis not possible, I cannot agree, for the Reasons and Examples aforesaid. And if it be but possible, 'tis not reasonable the Liberty and Safety of *England* should be exposed even to a possibility of Disaster; and therefore Reason and Justice allows, that when all delegated Powers fail or expire, when Governours devour the People they should protect; And when Parliaments, *if ever that unhappy time shall come again,* should be

be either destroy'd, or, which is as bad, be corrupted and betray the People they Represent, the People themselves, who are the Original of all delegated Power, have an undoubted Right to defend their Lives, Liberties, Properties, Religion and Laws, against all manner of Invasion or Treachery, be it Foreign or Domestick; the Constitution is dissolv'd, and the Laws of Nature and Reason act of Course, according to the following System of Government.

The Government's ungirt when Justice dies,
And Constitutions are non Entities:
The Nation's all a Mob; there's no such thing
As Lords and Commons, Parliament or King.
A great promiscuous Croud the Hydra *lies,*
Till Laws revive, and mutual Contract ties.
A Chaos *free to chuse for their own share*
What Case of Government they please to wear.
If to a King they do the Reins commit,
All Men are bound in Conscience to submit.
But then that King must by his Oath assent
To Postulata's *of the Government:*
Which if he breaks, he cuts off the Intail,
And Power retreats to its Original.——

It may be Objected; But who are these People to whom Power must thus Retreat? And who have the Original Right in their Hands? It must be the whole People. If there be one Negative, every one having an equal Right, the real Claim of Power is Imperfect: And since there can be no general Collective Meeting of the whole Community, there can be no Execution of their Power; and therefore this does not justifie a few of that Body in the name of the rest, to Execute any part of that Power.

This may be Answered; though upon a Dissolution of Government all the People collectively cannot be enquired of as to what they will have done, yet one Negative ought not to Interrupt the whole.

I'll ſuppoſe a general Diſſolution of Government in any Country, ſuch as was ſeen in this Nation at the laſt Revolution.

The People aſſembled in a Univerſal Mob to take the Right of Government upon themſelves, are not to be ſuppoſed to give their perſonal Suffrages to every Article, but they may agree to a Convention of ſuch Perſons as they think fit to Intruſt, to Conſtitute *de Novo*, and may Delegate their Power, or part of it to ſuch a Convention; and in ſuch Caſe a general Concurrence is to be ſuppos'd, unleſs there be a publick Diſſent.

Now ſuppoſe the general Collective Body of the People ſhould not unanimouſly agree, 'tis own'd the Power could not be univerſally Delegated, and there a Diviſion would follow; but in ſuch Caſe, thoſe who Diſſented from ſuch an Agreement, muſt declare their Diſſent, and agree to any other Form of Government for themſelves, and ſo divide from the other Body, and if they do not divide, they in effect do not Diſſent.

But then this Diviſion muſt be before any Members are Delegated by them to Convene.

For Example:

Suppoſe the Freeholders in *Cornwall* in ſuch a Caſe ſhould ſay, We do not approve of your deputing Men to meet and conſult of a new Government and Conſtitution, we are reſolved to be govern'd by *ſuch a Man* of our own Country.

This Reſolution being againſt no Law, and that Country having ſent no Members to repreſent them, and to join with the reſt of the Body, they cannot be legally diſturb'd or puniſh'd, or forced to Unite with the reſt of the Nation.

Such a Diviſion might be look'd upon as a Misfortune to the General Body, and unkind in the Country, or part dividing from the reſt, but in the nature of the thing it could not be Unjuſt.

Becauſe any Body of Men are at Liberty, upon the Diſſolution of former Contracts, to be governed by ſuch

ſuch Laws and Perſons, and in ſuch manner as they ſhall think fit.

Yet is there no fear of ſuch a Diviſion in a Country ſo depending on its ſeveral Parts as this is, becauſe the reſt would render them ſo uneaſie, that Intereſt would compel them to comply.

Note, I do not place this Right upon the Inhabitants, but upon the *Freeholders*; the *Freeholders* are the proper Owners of the Country: It is their own, and the other Inhabitants are but Sojourners, like Lodgers in a Houſe, and ought to be ſubject to ſuch Laws as the Freeholders impoſe upon them, or elſe they muſt remove; becauſe the Freeholders having a Right to the Land, the other have no right to live there but upon ſufferance.

In former Days the Freehold gave a Right of Government to the Freeholder, and Vaſſalage and Villinage was deriv'd from this Right, that every Man who will live in my Land ſhall be my Servant, if he wont, let him go about his Buſineſs, and live ſomewhere elſe: And 'tis the ſame ſtill in right reaſoning.

And I make no queſtion but Property of Land is the beſt Title to Government in the World; and if the King was univerſal Landlord, he ought to be univerſal Governor of Right, and the People ſo living on his Lands ought to obey him, or go off of his Premiſes.

And if any ſingle Man in *England* ſhould at any time come to be Landlord of the whole Freehold of *England*, he could indeed have no Right to Diſpoſſeſs the King, till the preſent legal Settlement of the Crown fail'd, becauſe it was ſettled by thoſe that had then a Right to ſettle it.

But he would immediately be the full Repreſentative of all the Counties in *England*, and might Elect himſelf Knight of the Shire for every County, and the Sheriff of every County muſt Return him accordingly.

He would have all the Baronies and Titles of Honour which are entail'd upon Eſtates devolv'd upon him, and upon any Expiration of the Settlement would be King by natural Right.

And he would be King upon larger Terms than ever any Man was legally King of *England*; for he would be King by inherent Right of Property.

When therefore I am ſpeaking of the Right of the People, I would be underſtood of the Freeholders, for all the other Inhabitants live upon Sufferance, and either are the Freeholders Servants, or having Money to pay Rent live upon Conditions, and have no Title to their living in *England*, other than as Servants, but what they muſt pay for.

Upon this foot it is that to this Day our Law ſuffers not a Foreigner to Purchaſe any of the Freeholds of *England*: For if a Foreigner might Purchaſe, your Neighbours (having Money to ſpare) might come and buy you out of your own Country, and take Poſſeſſion by a legal and indiſputable Right.

This Original Right was the firſt Foundation of the ſeveral Tenures of Land in *England*; ſome held of the King, ſome of the Lord, ſome by Knight Service, Soccage, and the like, and ſome were call'd Freeholds. The Lords of Mannors had their Homages, and their Services from their Tenants, as an Acknowledgment that the Right of the Land gave a certain Right of Government to the Poſſeſſor over all the Tenants and Inhabitants.

But he that poſſeſs'd the leaſt Freehold, was as much Lord of himſelf; and of that Freehold, as the greateſt Noble-man in the Nation, he ow'd no Homage or Service, no, not to the King, other than as limited by Laws of his own making, than is as he was repreſented in Parliament.

And as a thing which will put this Argument out of all queſtion. The Right to Lands, Mannors and Lordſhips, was not Originally a Right granted by Patents from Kings or Acts of Parliament, but a natural Right of Poſſeſſion handed down by Cuſtom, and ancient Uſage, as the Inheritance from the ſtill more ancient Poſſeſſors and Preſcription, or Uſage time out of Mind, is to this Day allow'd to be a ſufficient Title in

ſeveral Caſes, where Conveyances, Deeds, Charters, and Writings of Eſtates are ſilent, eſpecially as to Buttings and Boundings of Land, Highways, Footpaths, Water Courſes, Bridges, and the like.

This Right, as all Right Originally, is Founded upon Reaſon: For it would be highly Unreaſonable, that thoſe People who have no ſhare of the Houſe ſhould live in it whether he that built it will or no. No Perſon has any Right to live in *England*, but they to whom *England* belongs; the Freeholders of *England* have it in poſſeſſion; *England* is their own, and no Body has anything to do here but themſelves.

If they permit other People to live here, well and good, but no Man but a Freeholder lives here upon any Terms but *permiſſu Superiorum*, and he pays Rent for his Licence to live here.

Thus the Liberties and Privileges of Towns and Corporations, are founded upon Acts of Parliament to confirm Charters or Grants from the Crown, by which the Freeholders give their Conſent that ſuch and ſuch Bodies of Men living in ſuch Towns, ſhall enjoy certain Privileges in Conſideration of their being ſo conſiderably ſerviceable to the Nation, by paying Taxes, maintaining the Poor, by Manufactures, Trade, and the like, notwithſtanding they are not poſſeſs'd of any part of the Freehold.

And 'tis obſervable, the King cannot give this Privilege, ſo as to enable any of theſe Corporations to ſend Repreſentatives to Parliament. None, but the Freeholders of *England* (and ſuch Towns in Conjunction) to whom the Freeholders have already granted ſuch Privilege, can give a Qualification of ſuch a Nature, as is a receiving them into an equal ſtate of Privilege with a Freeholder.

Every Man's Land is his own Property; and 'tis a Treſpaſs in the Law for another Man to come upon his Ground without his Conſent. If the Freeholders ſhould all agree, That ſuch a Man ſhall not come upon their Land; That they will not Let him a Houſe for his

Money

Money; That whose Land soever he sets his Foot on, the Owner shall Indict him for a Trespass, as by Law he may, the Man must fly the Nation of Course.

Thus the Freeholders having a Right to the Possession of *England*, the Reason must be good that they must have the same Right to the Government of themselves, that they have to the Government of the rest of the Inhabitants; and *that there can be no Legal Power in* England, *but what has its Original in the Possessors; for Property is the Foundation of Power.*

I am not undertaking to find fault with our Constitutions, tho' I do not grant neither, that it is capable of no Amendment; but I would endeavovr to make way, by retreating to Originals, for every Member to perform its proper Function, in order to put the general Body into its regular Motion.

For as in the natural Body, if any Member, either by Contraction of the Organ, Dislocation, or other Accident, fails in the performance of its proper Duty, the Locomotive Faculty is either interrupted, and the Body distorted, or at least the regularity of Natural Motion is invaded: So in the Body Politick, if one Branch of the general Union err, and that Error, is not corrected, the whole Constitution suffers a shock, and there is an Infraction of the general Order.

The Excellency of our Constitution consists of the *Symetry of Parts*; *and the Ballance of Power*; and if this Ballance be broken, one Part grows too great for the other, and the whole is put into Confusion.

To give some Instances of this, 'twill be needful to enter a little into History, and we need not go far to inform our selves, that there has been a Time when the weakness of our Constitution has appeared.

Our Constitution, when all the fine Things in the World have been said of it, is not impregnable, when Power has been thrown wholly into one Scale, the other has always been trampled under Foot, and overthrown by it.

The

The Regal Power under King *Charles* the First, overballanc'd the Lords and Commons, to the invading the Right of Levying Taxes vested wholly in the Parliament, and to the discontinuing Parliaments for fourteen Years, and the many Convulsions the Constitution felt in that time, is too melancholy a Subject to reflect upon.

The House of Commons in the next Settlement overballanc'd the Lords, and Power being added to one Side, tos's'd the Upper House quite out of the Scale, absolutely Annihilated the very being of the Peers *as a House*, and voted them out of the Constitution.

By the Restoration the Constitution return'd to its Original, and the Ballance was pois'd again: What attempts have since been made to overthrow it, are needless to be insisted upon, but the nature of the thing leads me to make one Remark, That if the King can do no Wrong, nor is not punishable or blamable by our Constitution, but the Ministery, as a late Author has very clearly set down. Then we have acted strangely in the late Revolution; in which the King who must be Innocent only suffered; and the Ministry, who must be Guilty, not only were excused, but intrusted and employed.

Not that I am of some Peoples Opinion neither, who think the late King had hard measure in being Depos'd, when he was really not accountable. For I presume I may affirm, That the Deposing King *James* was founded upon his Deserting the Nation, not his Male-administration; for had he continued in *England*, you might possibly have subdu'd him, and took him Prisoner, but there had been no room for Transposing the Crown while he had been alive.

And 'tis allow'd by all, that those Persons who advised him to quit the Kingdom by flying out of it, either wilfully betray'd him, or very ignorantly gave him the only Council which could compleat his Ruin.

How

How then it comes to pass that those evil Ministers have arriv'd to Impunity for what was past, and again to be trusted both in the Court and in the Parliament with the Peoples Liberties, *is a Mystery past our reaches.*

If I had no Name my self, I would set down theirs; or if I had a Press in the Clouds to Print their Practices, the World should not be Ignorant; but since 'tis not so, I shall only say as our Saviour said of some Body else, *By their Works ye shall know them.*

These are the Men who cry loudest against the present Ministery, and on all occasions make use of the pretence of *Liberty* to animate the Nation against not only the present, but against every Ministery by which the publick Affairs shall be manag'd, and against the King himself. The same Men who in former Days cried up a Popish Army in a profound Peace, the very same now cried down a Protestant Army in time of Danger. The very same Men who could digest the absolute Power of ruining our Liberty and Religion, being vested in a Popish King, were the first and forwardest that durst not trust a Protestant King with Forces enough to defend us till Peace was better Establish'd, but have by that means, according to their Hearts desire, laid us and all *Europe* under a necessity of Arming again to maintain that Peace, which 'twas then in our power to have maintain'd.

For I am free to say 'twas not the Treaty of Partition which so much run the *Spaniards* upon giving themselves up to the *French*, as it was the despicable Figure the *English* Forces were reduced to, which made the *French* King bold to take possession of the *Spanish* Monarchy, which had some, I do not say all our Forces been continued but a Year or two longer, he would not have ventur'd to have done.

And yet all these Forces might have been subjected so absolutely to Parliamentary Power, as if they had been their own; for the King never denied them any Security they desir'd, and so they might have been Disbanded as easily now as then.

Not

Nor do I think that in this Discourse I can be supposed to favour that Party, *if there be such a Party, which indeed I question*, who would Govern this Nation by the help of a Standing Army; but I must be allowed to lay down this for a Maxim, That any Force as shall be agreed to by Consent of Parliament is Legal, and some Force may at some particular times be necessary, of which the Parliament are the only Judges.

Still I allow that of this Power so derived from Property, the *House of Commons* are the Abridgment; they are *the Freeholders of* England *in Miniature*; to them all needful Powers and Privileges are committed, to make them capable of Acting for the People they Represent; *and, Extremities excepted, they are our last Resort*: But if they employ those Privileges and Powers against the People, the reason of those Powers is destroy'd, the end is inverted, and the Power ceases of course.

From hence 'tis reasonable to give them Instructions; and though they are not conditionally chosen as to their Instructions, yet they ought in Honour to think themselves under equal Obligation to stand by those Instructions.

Instructions to Members are like the Power given to an Arbitrator, in which, though he is left fully and freelly to act, yet 'tis in Confidence of his Honour that he will think himself bound by the Directions he receives from the Person for whom he acts.

If an Arbitrator inverts the design of his Principle, he destroys the end of his Election, and is sure never to be entrusted again.

The *House of Commons* are our Sanctuary against the Oppression of Princes, the Nations Treasurers, and the Defenders of their Liberties; but all these Titles signifie, that at the same time they are the Nations Servants.

The *House of Commons* also are Mortal, as a House; a King may Dissolve them, they may die and be extinct; but the Power of the People has a kind of Eternity with respect to Politick Duration: Parliaments

may

may ceaſe, but the People remain; for them they were originally made, by them they are continued and renewed, from them they receive their Power, and to them in reaſon they ought to be accountable.

The Concluſion.

THE Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament has been ſubſequent to the Writing theſe Sheets, and two Obſervations fall out ſo naturally on this occaſion, that I cannot but conclude this Subject with them.

That both His Majeſty and the whole Nation have very happily given their Approbation to the Poſitions here laid down.

It cannot be doubted but that the Language of the Addreſſes of the People preſented to His Majeſty, upon the Indignity offer'd him by the *French* King, has in general a Diſlike included in them of the Management of their late Repreſentatives; and tho' it is a new thing, yet it is plain their Proceedings in general have been Diſobliging to the Nation.

There was no need to expreſs in Words at length *before alſo His Majeſty's Intentions were known*, that they deſire him to Diſſolve the preſent Parliament. Good Manners required, that they ſhould not ſo plainly lead His Majeſty in what he was to be the Author of; beſides the Parliament was in Being, and the illegal Arbitrary Uſage of the *Kentiſh* Gentlemen freſh in the Memory of the People. But what is the meaning of the following Expreſſions in the Addreſſes? *If Your Majeſty pleaſes to entruſt us with the Choice of a new Parliament*; *When Your Majeſty ſhall be graciouſly pleaſed to call a new Parliament*; *In Conjunction with a Parliament*; and the like. What would the Addreſſors have us, or have the King to underſtand by theſe Expreſſions, but that the People finding themſelves Injur'd by the Proceedings of their Repreſentatives, and the Nation in danger

ger of being abuſed and betray'd to the Invaſions of the *French*, by the Illegal and Arbitrary Deſigns of a Party in the Houſe, have recourſe to His Majeſty, to deſpoſe *for them* a Power which they ſaw going to be miſapplied to the Ruine of thoſe from whom and for whom it was appointed.

Nor was this any thing but what was ſeen and known before; all theſe Addreſſes are the Legitimate Off-ſpring of the *Kentiſh* Petition; and had not the Freeholders been aw'd by the ill uſage of the *Kentiſh* Gentlemen, the whole Nation had then as unanimouſly Petition'd the Houſe, as they have now Addreſs'd His Majeſty.

This is evident from the Tenour, and yet undiſcovered Original of the *Legion Paper*; the Contents of which had ſo much plain Truth of Fact and Truth of Law, that the Houſe ſtood Convicted in the plain Conſternation the Contents of it threw them in; by which they gave a full aſſent to the Right of the People.

But beyond all this is His Majeſty's Proclamation, wherein, according to Truth, Reaſon, and the Nature of the Thing, His Majeſty has graciouſly given a Sanction to the natural Right of his People, proclaiming from the *Engliſh* Throne, of which he is the moſt Rightful Poſſeſſor, by the Voice of the People, that ever ſat on it.

That when the People of *England* do univerſally expreſs their Reſolution to do what ſhould or ought to be deſired of good *Engliſh* Men and Proteſtants, * *It is reaſonable to give them an Oppertunity to chuſe ſuch Perſons to repreſent them in Parliament, as they may judge moſt likely to bring to effect their juſt and pious Purpoſes.*

* See His Majeſty's Proclamation for Diſſolving the Parliament.

The Words need no Comment, they contain in them a glorious Recognition from the Reſtorer of *Engliſh* Liberty, and an unexampled Teſtimony to the reaſonableneſs

bleneſs of thoſe juſt Rights which, *though former King's blinded by Ambition, have endeavour'd to ſuppreſs*, His preſent Majeſty, according to his firſt Declaration and continued Practice, has accounted it his Chief Honour to preſerve, and which we doubt not he will hand down unbroken to our Poſterity.

The Free-holders Plea againſt Stock-Jobbing Elections of Parliament Men.

OF all the Nations in the World, we may ſay, without detracting from the Character of our Native Country, that *England* has, for ſome Ages paſt, been the moſt Diſtracted with Diviſions and Parties among themſelves.

Union and Charity, the one relating to our Civil, the other to Religious Concerns, are Strangers in the Land; and whether we ſpeak of difference in Opinions, or differences in Intereſt, we muſt own that we are the moſt Divided, Quarrelſome Nation under the Sun.

Poland is the only Nation of *Europe* which can pretend to match us in this ill-natur'd Quality, and yet, all things examin'd, *Poland* cannot come near us.

'Twas a true Character given of us, by the wiſeſt Princeſs that ever Govern'd us, Queen *Elizabeth*, that the *Engliſh* were harder to be Govern'd in time of Peace than War.

What Experience our preſent Governors have had of this old Maxim in the ſhort Peace we have had, we leave to every Man's Obſervation.

Not to enter into the Hiſtory of the Diviſions, and the civil Diſturbances in the Nation's Peace, which is too

too freſh in our Memories; and cannot be review'd without ſenſible Regret by any Man, who loves his Country, or has the leaſt regard to its Proſperity or Reputation.

Yet we cannot but expreſs our ſenſe of the encreaſe, and more than ordinary progreſs of this wrangling Temper on the preſent Affairs of the Publick; and with what fatal ſucceſs it invades us in the moſt minute, and moſt tender Parts; with what ſubtilty it ſpreads its contagious Qualities into the Vitals of the State; and from thence deſcends into the leſs noble parts, the Trade of the Nation.

Religion and the State have felt the plague of Contention, eating out the very Entrails of the Nation, and with a ſort of alternate Motion, have equally come under its malignant Effects for almoſt four entire Centuries of Years, and as if it was not enough to hurt us in thoſe two Eſſentials of our Peace, behold the Plague is broke out in our Trade, which is the third, and next to the other two, the Supreme Article of the Kingdoms Proſperity.

Wherefore we the Yeomandry and poor Freeholders of *England*, having, God knows, no hand in the Differences tho' we have a deep ſhare in the Damages, do take the freedom to make our juſt Remarks upon the Cauſes, which, as we apprehend, have conduc'd too much to the preſent unhappy Diviſions of the Nation; and which, if ſome care be not taken to prevent it, may compleat the Ruin of us all.

The Wiſdom of late Parliaments have Eſtabliſh'd two great Rivals in Trade, the Old and the New *Eaſt-India* Companies.

We do not pretend to Arraign the Juſtice of thoſe *Wonderful and Unintelligible Aſſemblies*, if they were in being, we dare not, and, ſince they are not in being, 'tis not very Honourable, you'l ſay, to ſpeak ill of the Dead.

But thus far, we hope, without Offence, we may be allow'd to give our Opinions in this particular Af-

fair, that tho' seperately and distinctly, every part of the Proceedings of those Parliaments, might be literally and positively just and Right, we mean as to the *East-India* Companies.

Yet when they are Conjunctively, and in the general put together and reflected on, they seem to be clouded both as to the publick Interest, and as to the Honour of the proceedings with dark Enigma's of State, and Inexplicable Paradoxes, too hard for us to understand, such as these,

1. That during the Being of one Company, and before the extent of their Charter, and Privileges were expir'd, we mean the three Years allowed them for bringing home their Effects, there should be erected a new Company, with power of immediate Trade.

Had the New Company not commenc'd their Trade, till the time of the Old was expir'd, or near it, there might have been a Succession of Companies, not two Rival Companies in Being together.

2. That the manner of Trading by the new Company should be so order'd, as that the old Company by Subscribing should enable themselves to Trade seperately as a Company still; and that with so Capital a Stock, as always to share the Trade with the new Company; and so at the same time two Contraries be upheld by the same Authority.

Had the new Company been so Establish'd that at the expiration of the old, it shou'd have had a Commanding Superiority, by which no other Man could have Traded, but under them, by Permission, at the same time leaving all Men at liberty to come in and Trade with them, there had been then no Rivals in the Trade, which will, no question, as they now stand, soon reduce the Trade to very low Terms.

3. That after this new Company was Establish'd, and the Money paid in, to the use of the Government, *which some say was the thing which first mov'd the Conception of a new Company, and which, if the old Company wou'd have procur'd, they had never been Broke, nor the new one Born.* That after this new Company was erected, the

the Stock advanc'd, and the Money to the Government pay'd, they ſhou'd prohibit by Act of Parliament two thirds of their Trade, and ſo ſtarve the Child they had Begotten.

If the Trade was ruinous to the Engliſh *Manufactures, and the Intereſt of the Nation, it ſhou'd have been foreſeen, before Gentlemen had paid their Money, or elſe it ſhou'd not have been examin'd afterwards.*

4. That after all this they ſhou'd grant a new Charter to the old Company, by Vertue of which they have both power and time to Trade, to the prejudice of the new, even to their Hearts content.

We ſay nothing of thoſe Particulars, but thus, that really we do not underſtand the conſiſtency of them with themſelves, they ſtand to us as *Arcana*'s of Policy, too high to be medled with.

Nor ſhou'd we trouble our Heads about them, but leave both Companies to confound one another, as we believe they will; but that we find ſo great a part of the Nation concern'd in their Quarrel, as gives us cauſe to obſerve, that the Iſſue of them ſeems to threaten the Nation with ſomething Fatal.

For the Power of theſe two Rivals is ſo great, and Intereſt in the Kingdom ſo popular and high, that matters of higher Moment than Trade ſeem to depend upon them, while all the Proceedings of their Members, both in the City, and in the late Parliament, in both which their Parties have been numerous, are, and have been guided, according to their Intereſt in their reſpective Companies.

The grand Work which the whole Nation is now intent upon, is chuſing their Repreſentatives in Parliament, chuſing Men to meet, and adviſe with the King about the moſt Important Affairs of the Kingdom.

And while all Men ought to be fixing their Eyes upon ſuch Men as are beſt Qualified to ſit in that place of Honour, and to examine who are fitteſt to be intruſted with the Religion and Peace of *England*, and perhaps of all *Europe*.

Here we are plagu'd with the Impertinence of two *East-India* Companies, as if the Intereſt of either Company were to be nam'd in the Day with the *Proteſtant Religion and the publick Peace*, or as if they, who are fit to be Repreſentatives of the People in the great matters of Peace and War, Leagues and Alliances of Neighbours, Succeſſion of Crowns, and Protection of the Proteſtant Religion, ſhould not be capable of deciding the petty Controverſy in Trade between two Rival Companies.

The Grand Queſtion ask'd now, when your Vote is requir'd for a Parliament Man, is not as it ought to be, Is he a Man of *Senſe*, of *Religion*, of *Honeſty* and *Eſtate*.

But, What Company is he for, the New or the Old?

If Mr. *A. M.* ſet up as a Candidate in a Neighbouring Borough, Who ſet him up? 'Tis known he is no Inhabitant there, nor ever was, has no Free-hold, or Copy-hold, or Leaſe-hold Eſtate there, nor is not known there, and of himſelf poſſibly was not acquainted with twenty People there.

But enquire what Company he is for; and then ſee if all the reſt of that Company were not found running over the Water to make their Intereſt with their Friends for this Election.

And the Time would fail us, and the Paper too, to give you a Liſt of the *Shop-keepers*, *Merchants*, *Pedlers*, and *Stock-Jobbers*, who, with their *Hir'd Liveries*, in *Coaches* and *Six Horſes*, who, *God knows*, never had Coach or Livery of their own, are come down into the Countries, being detatch'd from *London*, by either Company to get themſelves choſen Parliament Men, by thoſe Boroughs, who are eaſie to be Impos'd upon, and who like well-meaning Men, that know nothing of the matter, chuſe them upon the Recommendation of the Country Gentlemen that have Intereſt in the Towns, which Country Gentlemen are prevail'd upon to quit their own Pretenſions to advance theirs; but by

by what Arguments we cannot pretend to Determine.

We have formerly been told, that ſpending Money upon the Inhabitants of Towns was a pernicious Practice; and no doubt it was, and an Act of Parliament has been wiſely made to prevent it.

What any Man cou'd propoſe to himſelf by ſpending 2000 (nay, 11000 pound was ſpent at the Town of *Winchelſea*) to be choſen to ſit in a Houſe where there is not one Farthing to be gotten honeſtly, was a Myſtery every one did not underſtand.

But here is a new way of getting Money: For if a Country Gentleman has ſo much Intereſt in a Town, that he can be choſen a Member of Parliament, if he will decline it, here is a ſort of Folks they call *Stock-Jobbers* will help him to 1000 G——s for his Intereſt.

This is *Parliament-Jobbing*, a new Trade, which as we thought it the Duty of *Engliſh* Free-holders thus to expoſe, we hope an *Engliſh* Parliament will think it their Duty to prevent.

For as this Stock-Jobbing in its own Nature, is only a new invented ſort of *Deceptio Viſus*, a *Legerdemain* in Trade, ſo mix'd with Trick and Cheat, that 'twou'd puzzle a good *Logician* to make it out by *Syllogiſm*: So nothing can be more Fatal in *England* to our preſent Conſtitution; and which in time may be ſo to our Liberty and Religion, than to have the Intereſts of Elections Jobb'd upon Exchange for Money, and Transfer'd like *Eaſt-India* Stock, for thoſe who bid moſt.

By this Method the Country Gentlemen may ſit at Home, and only Correſponding with the Brokers at *Jonathan*'s and *Garraway*'s, as the Prizes Riſe or Fall, may diſpoſe of their Intereſts in the Towns they can Govern, at as good a rate as they can.

The Citizens, or ſuch who have their ſeveral Companies and Intereſt to ſerve, will eaſe themſelves of the expence of Travelling, with the fine borrow'd Equipages before mention'd, and only go to Market in

Exchange-Alley, and Buy an Election, as the *Stock-Jobber* and they shall agree, which Election shall be manag'd by the Country Gentleman, who is to have his Bargain, no Purchase no Pay, and is to go thro' with it, or else he gets none of the Money.

Elections of Parliament Men are in a hopeful way; and Parliaments themselves are in a hopeful way by this concise Method of Practice, to come under the absolute management of a few Hands, and no doubt things will go on accordingly.

Banks and Stocks may be lay'd up, and employ'd in a short time, for the purchasing the Interest of Gentlemen, and our Gentry being willing to get a Penny in *an Honest way*, as we say, will but too often sell their Interests, and their Country too, especially such Gentlemen, whose Estates are reduc'd to an occasion for it.

The truth of it is, 'tis a Paradox, a Riddle, that we Countrymen cannot understand, nor never cou'd, what makes our Gentlemen so fond of being Parliament-men, we do not very well understand what the Business is at the Parliament. Only we find we are *swingingly Tax'd*; and they tell us 'tis done by the Parliament; but we never understood they had any of the Money themselves, we always thought the Money was for the King, tho' they had the Giving of it; then we see in the King's *Proclamation* for Calling a Parliament, that it was to Advise with them, about Affairs of the highest Importance to the Kingdom. Now we cannot see they can get any thing by coming together to be Advis'd with, and our Knights of the Shire tell us they get nothing by it. And here lies the Difficulty, we can never reconcile their spending so much Money to be Chosen, going up 200 Miles to *London*, and spending six Months sometimes there in attending the House, and all for no thing; we have often been thinking there must be something else in the Case, and we are afraid there is.

Nor did ever any thing explain this Riddle so much, as the strugling of these two Companies to make Members

bers of Parliament; for the meaning to us seems thus:

That they suppose which Company soever gets most Friends in the House, will be most likely to be farther Establish'd to the Ruin of the other, and therefore they make such a stir to get Friends there.

Whence first it must be suppos'd, that the Matter shall not stand or fall by true Merit, and that Company may be suppress that deserves it; for if so, *it might be probable they wou'd both be suppress'd*; for we apprehend they are both Destructive to our *English* Trade in general, and Manufactures in particular.

But 2, It must be suppos'd, that Friendship and number of Voices only will decide the Controversy.

And in order to this the *Stock-Jobbers*, who care not a Farthing which side gets the better, but make a Prey of them both, have set up this new Trade of Jobbing for Elections: And that the way of their proceeding may be a little plainer understood, we desire you to read the Copy of a Letter come down last Post, to a worthy Gentleman in our Country, from a Friend of his plying in or near *Exchange-Ally*, concerning this Matter.

SIR,

THE Elections for a new Parliament being begun almost every where, I doubt not but the Time is fixt at your Town of —— I know you have the Absolute Power of the Inhabitants there, and can put in whom you please; and finding by your last you purpose to decline it your self, I am to inform you, that a very honest Gentleman, of my Acquaintance, being an Eminent Merchant here, wou'd think himself very much Oblig'd, if you wou'd use your Interest in his behalf, upon your Grant whereof I have an Order to Present you with a Thousand Guineas to Buy my Lady ——

He is ready to come down at your first Summons, in a very good Equipage; Pray dispatch your Mind per the Bearer, to

Your humble Servant,

To the Honourable
Sir *A, B, C, D*, Bar.

Postscript.

IF *Sir* E, F, G, H, *will dispose of his Interest in the Town of* ——— *I can help him to very good Terms.*

Now tho' the worthy Gentleman to whom this Proposal was made, rejected it with Disdain, yet the Attempt is made very plain in the case.

And we are inform'd, that the Number of Members come down into the Countries, on such accounts, are incredible.

Wherefore we think it very needful to publish our Resentments at such a practice, and to protest against it in this our Honest *Plea*, as an indirect, wicked and pernicious practice, and which may be of very ill consequence to the Nation, on these following Accounts.

1. A Hundred, or an Hundred and fifty such Members in the House, wou'd make a *Dead Weight*, as it us'd to be call'd, to carry any Vote they are For, or Against, either in the Negative or Affirmative, as they shall agree, and if so, it will be almost in their power to dispose of our Estates, Persons, Liberties and Religion, as they think fit.

2. If it be true, as is very rational to suppose, that *they who will Buy will Sell*; or if it be true, which seems still more rational, that *they who have Bought must Sell*; must make a *Penny* of it, or else they lose their *Purchase*, and some their Fortunes, which they expected to raise by these mercenary Elections; then the Influence of such a Number of Members, gotten into the House by the method we are speaking of, will be capable of selling

ling our Trade, our Religion, our Peace, our Effects, our King, our Crown, and every thing that is Valuable, or Dear to the Nation.

If *Stock-jobbing* of Elections be the first step, in all probability *Stock-jobbing* of Votes will be the second; for he that will give a Thousand pounds or more, only for a power to Vote, expects to get something by Voting, or gives away his Money for nothing.

What shall we say then, if a League of Confederacy shou'd be made between our *Parliament-Sollicitors*, and our *Stock-Jobbing-Brokers*, two Sort of People equally mercenary and Deceitful.

We desire to know, whether 'twould not be more fatal to *England* than the Union of *France* and *Spain*, which all *Europe* seems to be so much disturb'd at.

In vain do we the Free-Holders of *England* strive to chuse Men of all the Six Characters, mention'd by a late Author, in order to have a Parliament every way Qualified for the Important Affair, his Majesty has mention'd in his Proclamation.

In vain shall those Gentlemen we chose Sit and Vote in the House, if such a Generation as we hear of are let into the House, by the help of their Money at the Boroughs and Towns, for the Citizens and Burgesses out-run the Knights in number above Three for One.

We think 'tis no small misfortune to the *English* Constitution, that so great a Number of Members are chosen by the Corporations of *England*, and, according to our weak Opinions, it seems not equal, That all the Free-holders of a Country shou'd be represented only by two Men, and the Towns in the same County be represented by above Forty, as it is in *Cornwall*, and near the like in other Counties.

Again in some of these Corporations, where the right of Voting is in the Mayor and Jurats; in some the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councel; in others the Mayor, Aldermen, and Capital Burgesses; in others the Bayliff and Jurats, and the like, the right of Voting is reduc'd to so few, and those so Mean and

Merce nary

Mercenary, that they are eaſily prevail'd with, to chuſe ſuch as they know not, but are recommended by others.

And, which is worſe, ſome Towns whoſe Charters remain, tho' the Towns themſelves ſeem to be Dead, are ſo mean and contemptible, that nothing remains of them but a Deſpicable Village, with the Ruins of what they have been.

We think it wou'd be but reaſonable, that the Charters and Privileges of Towns, ſhou'd die with the Towns; and that whereas when they were Populous and Rich, they were Repreſented in Parliament, becauſe they were ſo; when they are Depopulated and Deſolate, there can be no need of any Perſon to repreſent them, what can the Members, who have ſerv'd for the Town of *Winchelſea* anſwer, if they were ask'd, who they Repreſent, they muſt Anſwer they Repreſent the Ruins and Vaults, the remains of a good Old Town, now lying in Heaps; as for the Inhabitants, they are not to be Nam'd among the Liſt of the moſt deſpicable Endſhips, or Village in the County.

Branber in *Suſſex*, Old *Sarum*, *Stockbridge*, *Gatton*, *Quinburro*, and multitudes of Towns the like, who ſend up Gentlemen to repreſent Beggars, and have had more Mony ſpent at ſome of their Elections, than all the Land in the Pariſhes wou'd be worth, if Sold at a Hundred Years Purchaſe.

While on the other Hand, a great many good Towns in *England*, being of more modern Riſe in the World, are not permitted to chuſe at all, and the City of *London* it ſelf, tho' ſome ſay it, bears a proportion to Six parts of the Kingdom, ſends but Four Members of it ſelf; and but Eight in the whole Circumference.

This Inequality, we humbly conceive opens the Door to the fraudulent practices, which have all along been made uſe of in Elections, Buying of Voices, giving Freedoms in Corporations, to People Living out of Corporations, on purpoſe to make Votes, debauching the Electors, making whole Towns Drunk,

and

and Feasting them to Excess for a Month, sometimes two, or more, in order to engage their Voices.

These things were so Notorious, and withal so Ruinous to the Gentry themselves, of whom several Men of plentiful Estates have been miserably Beggar'd, and undone, that the Parliament wisely took notice of it, and have prohibited the practice.

But as if the Devil ow'd the Nation a Grudge, and was rummaging his Invention to pay it; here is a new project found out, to succeed the other, which is Ten Fold more the Child of Hell than that.

Elections were obtain'd by those Clandestine Vicious ways, only to sit in the House in General; but here the design seems to be form'd before-hand, what they wou'd be chosen for, and the measures concerted, nay we have heard that it may be known already, and Wagers have been layd in, or near *Exchange Alley*, which Company has most Friends in the ensuing Parliament, and how many of the Members of each Company stand fairest to be chosen.

Those Gentlemen who have Intelligence, suitable to such nice Calculations, are equally capable of Jobbing the whole Nation; and as is already noted, having gotten the way of Buying and Selling, that is Jobbing Elections, will soon influence such Persons to Act, as the Mony they are able to bid shall direct.

'Twould be but a melancholly Thought, to reflect that the matter of our Succession, shou'd come to be debated before a Parliament, that had a Governing number of such Members, who cou'd imagine but that the settlement of our Crown wou'd attend the highest bidder, and our future Liberty, Religion, and all that's dear to us be Morigag'd to the Bribes of Forreigners.

The *French* King need not keep great Armies on Foot, Build Ships, and strengthen himself at Sea to Ruin us, if the great Affairs of the Kingdom concerted in Parliament shou'd come to be prepar'd, manag'd, and byas'd at *Garraway*'s and *Jonathan*'s Coffee-house, and expos'd to Sale by a parcel of Stock-Jobbers.

And

And how shall it be otherwise, they that can make Members, will always Govern Members; Creation supposes a Right of disposing, the Gentlemen who Buy are Oblig'd to stand in good Terms with the Broker, least they shou'd find a better Chapman, and leave him in the lurch the next Election, so that by the Nature of the thing, they are always subject to this Mercenary, Scandalous thing, call'd a Broker, and he keeps them under his Girdle, if he bids them Vote for, or against, they do it, the mischiefs are endless and innumerable, that may attend it.

To all Men whose Eyes are to be open'd with Reason and Argument, it shou'd be enough to fill them with abhorrence, to think that the Scandalous Mechanick Upstart Mistery of Job-broking should thus grow upon the Nation; that ever the *English* Nation shou'd suffer'emselves to be Impos'd upon by the New invented ways of a few Needy Mercenaries, who can turn all Trade into a Lottery, and make the *Exchange* a Gaming Table: A thing, which like the Imaginary Coins of Foreign Nations, have no reality in themselves; but are plac'd as things which stand to be Calculated, and Reduc'd into Value, a Trade made up of Sharp and Trick, and manag'd with Impudence and Banter.

That Six or Eight Men shall combine together, and by pretended Buying or Selling among themselves, raise or sink the Stock of the *East India* Company, to what extravagant pitch of Price they will, so to wheedle others sometimes to Buy, sometimes to Sell, as their occasions require; and with so little regard to Intrinsick Value, or the circumstances of the Company, that when the Company has a loss, Stock shall Rise; when a great Sale, or a Rich Ship arriv'd, it shall Fall: Sometimes run the Stock down to 85 *l.* other times up to a 150 *l.* and by this Method Buy and Sell so much, that 'tis thought there are few of the Noted Stock-jobbers, but what have bought and sold more Stock than both the Companies possess.

Thus

Thus let them Jobb, Trick, and Cheat one another; and let them be bubbl'd by them that know no better; but for God's sake, Gentlemen, do not let the Important Affairs of the State come under their wicked clutches.

Don't let them prepare our Acts of Parliament, and then chuse Members to Vote for them. If Fate and *Popish* Confederacies, and Union of *Popish* Powers abroad do threaten us: Let us alone to struggle with them, and have Fair Law, and Honourable Conditions for it; but to be Bought and Sold, to have our Elections of Members, and our Laws, Liberties and Estates Stock-jobb'd away, is intolerable.

Some, and not a few, of our Stock-jobbing Brokers, are *French* Men, a little Correspondence between the *French Court*, and *Jonathan's Coffee-house*, with a Currency of *Louis D'ors*, will make strange alterations here, if this method of Buying and Jobbing Elections shou'd go on.

The Parliament of *England*, is the Governing Council; their Breath is our Law, and on their Breath under the Direction of God's Providence, we all depend, the greatest Nicety that is possible, should be us'd in chusing Men of untainted Principles, and unquestion'd Wisdom, to compose a Body so Eminent in their Power and Influence.

But to attempt to fill the House with Mechanicks, Tradesmen, Stock-jobbers, and Men neither of Sense nor Honesty, is striking at the Root, and undermining the Nation's Felicity at once, and 'tis a wonder the impudence of this attempt has not made them Stink in the Nostrils of the whole Nation.

How can the King be encourag'd to place that confidence in his People, which he mentions in the late *Proclamation*, by which People, his Majesty understands, the true Representative Body Assembled in Parliament, if instead of a true Representative, the House is fill'd with Elections Clandestinly procur'd by Tricks and Shams impos'd upon the People.

How

How can the King depend upon his Parliament, to carry him thro' any thing he ſhall undertake by their advice, if mercenary Men fill the Houſe, whoſe Suffrages ſhall be guided by the Bribes and private procurations of his, and the Nations Enemies?

How ſhall the Proteſtant Religion be Eſpous'd, and Defended, which wiſe Men ſay is in great Danger.

How ſhall Trade be Encourag'd, and Protected, and the Niceties of it Diſputed and Defended?

How ſhall Reformation of Manners, which is ſo much wanted, and which the King has ſo often Recommended, be promoted?

Are Stock-jobbers. Agents of Regiments, Taylors, and *Eaſt India* Companies, Qualifi'd for theſe Works; or will any ſort of Men, who Purchaſe Elections with Mony, to bring to paſs private Intereſts and Parties, Eſpouſe theſe General Caſes on which the Welfare of the Nation depends.

Tell a Stock jobber of the Union of *France* and *Spain*; of the *Muſcovites* breaking the Peace; of the Difference between the *Danes*, and the Duke of *Holſtein*, Tell him of a good Barrier in *Flanders* againſt the *French*, or of Aſſiſting the *Emperor* on the *Rhine*, (*talk Goſpel to a Kettle Drum*) 'tis all Excentrick and Foreign to him: But talk of the Great *Mogul*, and the Pirates of *Madagaſcar*; of Fort St. *George*, and St. *Helena*, there you'll hit him, and he turns States man preſently.

It was a Famous *Stock-Jobber*; and one who is very likely to be a Parliament Man, who, when ſome body was talking lately of the Election of the New *Pope*; and having heard the particulars very attentively, brought out this very grave Queſtion at the end on't. *Well!* ſays he, *I am glad 'tis over, and don't you think that* Stock *will riſe upon't.*

A Learned Queſtion upon the Caſe, truly; upon which, pray give us leave to ask another;

* *And is't not pity.*
But ſuch a one ſhould Repreſent the City?

You

You *Londoners* may make them Sheriffs, Aldermen, Deputies, and Common-Councel Men, and welcome; you know them, and they can hurt no body but themselves.

But when you come to talk of Parliament Men, Gentlemen, pray consider, 'tis the whole Nation lies at Stake, a Man may set his own house on Fire, and welcome, provided it stands by its self, and neither hurts nor endangers no bodies else, and the Law has nothing to say to him; but if it stands in a Town, or a City, he deserves to be hang'd, for he may burn out, and undo his Neighbours.

Nor are you chusing Men to sit in Parliament, as Persons to Act for you only whom they Represent; but they are Representatives in a double capacity, separately consider'd, every Member Represents the People who chuse him, and all together Represent the whole Nation. Their right to sit is separately Devolved; but their right in Act, is conjunctively Inherent, every Man Represents the whole, and Acts for the whole, tho' he is sent but from part.

The Fate of *Bristol*, or *New Castle*, may be decided by a Member of *London*, or *Canterbury*, whose Vote on an equality of Voices carries it which way he pleases.

Therefore *London* cannot say to *Bristol*, or *New-Castle*, what have you to do with our Election? Or, they to *London*, What have you to do with ours? why, one bad Member may ruin a City, a Town, or Family, a Person, or perhaps altogether; and if any Town, or City, or Borough, or private Person, is pleas'd to give a Friendly Admonition, or Caution, to another, especially if they seem to be proceeding against their own, or the Nation's Interest, they ought to accept the Hint, and reflect upon what they are doing with Honesty, and reform it.

Upon this, we hope it shall be justified, that we have ventur'd to lay open the Villanous practices of some People to corrupt and procure Elections, in order to get Members into the ensuing Parliament, who shall serve a

Turn

Turn, and a Party, without considering whether they are Men qualified for the other great Affairs, which are to be consider'd there, and which his Majesty has assur'd us, are of the highest Importance to the Kingdom.

The CONCLUSION.

AFter all that has been said, it must be allow'd, that whoever forwards, or foments the publick Divisions of the Nation, put their Hand to the Nation's Ruin.

Divisions have a natural tendency to Distractions, whether it be *Jacobite* against *Williamite*, *Whig* against *Tory*, *Dissenter* against the *Church*, or *Church* against *Dissenter*; New *Company* against the Old, *Stock* against *Stock*, or whatever else it is divides us; so far as any of these Divisions extend to meddle with the Publick, so far they lessen the Nation's Interest, weaken the Hands of the Government, Encourage the Enemies of our Prosperity, and endanger the Nation's Peace.

'Tis therefore humbly Recommended to every *honest English Man*, to study Peace, and pursue it by all the proper Methods possible, that we may not open a Gap for our Ruine with our own hands: Which if we do not, we may the better be able to slight the Confederate Forces of Enemies abroad.

Nothing can preserve us at home, nor enable us to Assist and Defend the Protestant Religion abroad, nothing can render us formidable to our Neighbours, make our Arms terrible, and our Alliance be coveted in *Europe*, and maintain the Reputation of our Nation; but Union among our Selves.

But above all, let us be careful that we are not bought and sold, *Stock-job'd* into Ruin; that our Liberties and Armies, and Fleets, and Parliaments, and Nation, are not Lump'd into Bargains; and handed about at the Coffee-houses and *Exchange*, from whence they may be *Jobb'd* to who bids most, and a Price be set upon us, by

by which we ſhall make Peace, or War, at the pleaſure of our Enemies.

As there is more meant by this than is expreſs'd, ſo there is more Miſchief hid under the Practice than I can deſcribe.

It becomes us therefore to cruſh the Brat in its Birth, and render all the hopes of our Enemies abortive, by a juſt Contempt of all ſuch People, who, by any Methods ſo ſcandalous, attempt to get into the Directing part of the Government.

For this ſeems to be a plain Conſequence, *That he who makes uſe of any Clandeſtine Methods to get into the Houſe of Commons, muſt have ſome Clandeſtine Deſign to carry on when he is there.*

Reaſons againſt a War with France, *or an Argument ſhewing that the* French *King's Owning the Prince of* Wales *as King of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland; *is no Sufficient Ground of a War.*

OF all the Nations in the World there is none that I know of, ſo entirely govern'd by their Humour as the *Engliſh*. There's no more to do to make way for any General undertaking, than by ſome wonderful Surprize to Rouſe the Fancy of the People, and *away they go with it*, like Hounds on a full Cry, till they over-run it, and then they are at a Halt, and will run back again as faſt as they came on.

What good qualities we have to Ballance this fooliſh one, I leave to thoſe that think it worth their while to write Panegyricks, which is none of my Buſineſs.

If I would go a little back for Examples, to prove what I say, I might fill this little Treatise with the History of our Hair-brain'd Undertakings, but every man's Experience is a witness; and if they are not just enough to own it, we may be sufficiently Convinc'd of it in the Case now before us.

The hast this Nation is in for a War, the Universal cry of the People during the last Session of Parliament, the ill will the Parliament has incurr'd with the generality, for not making so much hast as was thought requisite, are living proofs of what I have now laid down; and the present Clutter all over the Nation, in Addressing the King about the *French* King's Breach of Faith, and Publick Sworn Treaty, as they call it, is another Testimony of it.

It is not the Design of this Paper to Vindicate the honour of the *French* King, *whose Punctual observing of Treaties, is not reckon'd among the best of his Royal Vertues.* But I cannot agree with those People who say in their Addresses, that his owning the Prince of *Wales, as they call'd him*, to be the Successor of the late King *James*, is directly contrary to the Stipulations of the Treaty of *Reswick.*

I am not Writing against a War with *France*, provided it be on justifiable Grounds. But methinks the *English* Nation are not so inconsiderable in the World, as to fly to shifts and strain'd Constructions, in order to pick Quarrels, with our Neighbours. 'Tis true, we did it with the *Dutch* in 1672. but, 'tis spoken to the Infamy of a Party which Govern'd at that Day, and our Annals are justly asham'd to set down the story of the *Smirna* Fleet; and the success was answerable to the Folly and Knavery of the undertaking, having got nothing by that War but Shame, Loss, and a Dishonourable Peace.

Those who wou'd have us meet with the same success, may push us upon a War now, with the more reason, but he that desires we shou'd end the War Honourably, ought to desire also that we *begin it fairly.* Natural

ral Antipathies are no just ground of a War between Nations. Nor Popular Opinions. Nor is every Invasion of Right a good reason for a War, at least till Redress has first been demanded, in a peaceable way.

I am inform'd a Learned Gentleman, who has a long time oppos'd a War, is now turn'd about, and diligently writing Reasons for a War, and since he is become *a Doctor in Politicks*, as well as the Civil Law, I wish he would resolve me this Doubt.

Whether a Breach of the Ballance of Power be a sufficient ground of a War.

I won't pretend to affirm it is, or it is not, but I crave leave to make a few Inferences both ways.

1. If it be, then Treaties and Confederacies, to prevent such a Breach of the Ballance of Power, are both Just and Honourable. Because 'tis certainly Lawful by fair mains to prevent what 'tis Lawful by force after it happens to oppose.

And if this be granted, I wou'd fain know where the dishonesty of our late Treaty of Partition lies, for which the King has been so much abused.

2. We have then a sufficient ground of a War with *France*, from his placing the Duke *D' Anjou* on the Throne of *Spain*, tho' his Title had been indisputably honest, since the Conjunction of the two Monarchies is certainly Destructive of the Ballance of Power, on which the Peace of *Europe*, as well as the being of Trade does depend.

If a Breach of this Ballance of Power be not a sufficient ground of a War.

Then we have really no just ground to begin a War at all, and I hope we shall never begin one without.

England, as I hinted before, is not, nor I hope never will be so inconsiderable a Nation, as to be oblig'd to make use of dishonest Pretensions to bring to pass any of her Designs.

If there be no Lawful reason for a Breach of the Peace with *France*, for shame Gentlemen, let us stand to our

Treaties like Men of Honour, and give no cauſe of Reproach, either to the Proteſtant Religion, or the Honour of our Nation; let us give no occaſion for a *French* General, *like the* Turkiſh *Emperor at the Battle of* Varna, to lift up the Counterpart of our League up to Heaven, in the Day of Battle, and call upon God to behold the Faith of his Proteſtants.

But if there be ſufficient and juſt grounds of a War, let them be declar'd, that all the World may know, that as we ſcorn to trample upon our Faith, ſo we are not affraid to reſent the Affronts put upon us, nor to do our ſelves Juſtice by Force.

In order to make out what I have now aſſerted, I ſhall go on to examine whether there is now any other Foundation or fair pretence for a War, than what is included in what I call a Breach of the Balance of Power.

And firſt I muſt examine the matter of acknowledging the pretended Prince of *Wales* as King of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

'Tis true, 'tis a Perſonal Affront to His Majeſty, and the *Engliſh* Nation ought to be very tender in bearing any ill uſage of him who is ſo juſtly dear to them.

But if we examin the Treaty at *Reſwick*, give the Devil his due, we cannot find any Article which meddles with the matter, the Fourth Article is the only place in which the Caſe is touch'd upon, which is in theſe Words.

" *And ſince the Moſt Chriſtian King was never more de-*
" *ſirous of any thing, than that the Peace be Firm and Invi-*
" *olable, the ſaid King Promiſes and Agrees for himſelf and*
" *his Succeſſors, That he will on no Account whatſoever di-*
" *ſturb the ſaid King of* Great Britain *in the free Poſſeſſion*
" *of the Kingdoms, Countries, Lands or Dominions which*
" *he now enjoys, and therefore engages his Honour, upon the*
" *Faith and Word of a King, that he will not give or afford*
" *any Aſſiſtance, directly or indirectly, to any Enemy or E-*
" *nemies of the ſaid King of* Great Britain; *And that he*

" *will*

" *will in no manner whatsoever favour the Conspiracies or* " *Plots which any Rebels, or ill disposed Persons, may in any* " *place excite or contrive against the said King; And for* " *that end Promises and Engages, That he will not Assist* " *with Arms, Ships, Ammunition, Provisions or Money, or in any* " *other way, by Sea or Land, any Person or Persons, who* " *shall hereafter, under any pretence whatsoever, Disturb or* " *Molest the said King of* Great Britain *in the free and* " *full possession of his Kingdoms, Countries, Lands and Do-* " *minions. The King of* Great Britain *likewise promises* " *and engages for himself and Successors, Kings of* Great " Britain, *That he will Inviolably do and perform the same* " *towards the said most Christian King, his Kingdoms,* " *Countries, Lands and Dominions.*

Now here is not one Word to enjoyn the King of *France* not to continue the Title of King of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* to King *James* or any of his Posterity, as a Titular Honour, only that he will not give or afford any Assistance, and this Assistance is explain'd afterwards, to be either of Arms, Ammunition, Ships, Provisions or Money; the giving them such empty Titles as they should please themselves with, was *and must justly* be accounted a thing so trivial, that 'twas not thought worth the Stipulation of a Treaty.

Some People are willing to make a constructive breach of it, and say this is Assisting him, as it is Encouraging him and his Party: To such I hope I may have Liberty to say, a War is not to be begun, and the Blood and Treasure of a Nation expos'd upon constructive Breaches, but direct litteral Infractions of a Treaty.

And let the Encouragement to *that new made King*, and his drooping Party, be what it will, unless the King of *France* does directly or indirectly Aid or Assist them with *Arms*, *Ammunition*, *Ships*, *Provisions* or *Money*, and thereby disturb his present Majesty in the free Possession of the Kingdoms, Countries, Lands or Dominions which he now enjoys, I see no breach

of that Treaty at all, in his Complimenting the young Gentleman in whatsoever Titles he has given himself.

If the giving Titles to the late King, or his Posterity, had been any matter considerable in the Case, it wou'd no doubt have been considered in the Treaty; but since 'twas wholly left out, the *French* King might reasonably be supposed thereby to be left at liberty to call him by what Name or Title he thought fit to desire.

As to the Personal Affront of the King, with all humble submission to his Majesty's Conduct, I only say, that I wish, before his Majesty had recall'd his Ambassador, he had been pleas'd to have ordered him *to Demand Satisfaction in that Case*; in Answer to which Demand the King of *France* might possibly have given his Reasons, and made such a Declaration, as might have been a sufficient reparation to the Honour of his Majesty; and if not, then there had been more room for a publick Resentment than now there seems to be.

To me it seems a thing, *saving the Resentment his Majesty has of it*, not worth our notice, and had better have been pass'd over as a Trifle, than fastn'd on as the Principal Ground of a War, when there are such material Points always requir'd to make a War just, and when there are such other just Reasons for taking up Arms now before us.

If a War be necessary, it is just, and if so, why should we be affraid of it? If it be not so, we ought not to seek Occasions, and make Constructive Breaches, and Personal Affronts the pretences of it; the *French* are not so Inconsiderable in Power, that we should be fond of a War without reason, nor we so Inconsiderable as we need be affraid of a Just and Honourable War; a War which must cost the Blood of our Countrymen, and the Treasure of our Inhabitants, is not a thing of so little Consequence, as may be undertaken upon slight Occasions; nor yet of so great Consequence, that we

should

ſhould be afraid to enter upon it with Juſt and Honourable Reaſons.

Nor does the placing the Duke D' *Anjou* on the Throne of *Spain* give any juſt pretence for a War with *France*, unleſs he himſelf, makes himſelf Aggreſſor, by way of Diverſion, *otherwiſe than as it over Ballances the Power we ſpeak of*, and therefore the Policy of the *French* is very Conſpicuous, who place all the Oppoſition made In *Italy*, and the Poſſeſſion of *Flanders* upon the King of *Spain*, to whom he is only an Auxiliar, Guarding himſelf thereby from all poſſible Imputation of Breach of Faith.

And what other Reaſon can be given for his quitting his Deſigns upon the *Rhine*, where the *Germans* were naked enough, and where a ſmall Diverſion would have Embarras'd the Emperor, and leſſen'd his Army in *Italy*; had not the *French* King foreſeen, that thereby he ſhould have given the Confederates a ſufficient Ground to Quarel with him on the Foot of the Treaty of *Reſwick*.

But while he Acts as an Auxiliar for his Grandſon, and only lends him Aſſiſtance to the placing him in the *Spaniſh* Throne, which he ſays he has a Legal Title to, *the Treaty of* Reſwick *remains entire*, and you cannot break with him, without being the Aggreſſors.

If you refer to the League made with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as ſuppoſing the Right to the Crown of *Spain* to belong to the Emperor, which ſeems to be the only real Ground of a War; then our Quarrel is with the *Spaniard*, not the *French*; if the *French* Aſſiſts the *Spaniard*, 'tis at his Peril, he muſt do it as a Confederate, and there is ſtill no need of declaring War with him on that Account.

And I doubt not, I ſhall make it out, that a War on that Head, would be the moſt to our advantage.

It remains now to examine, upon what Foundation a War againſt *France* can be undertaken; truly I ſee none yet, but what muſt be founded upon the Breach made on the Ballance of Power by the King of *France*'s

taking Poſſeſſion of the Territories of our Allies, and ſo you muſt call it a preventive War; whether this be a ſufficient Article to make a War Juſtifiable, I leave to the Worthy Gentleman before mention'd to make out.

In the late War, and indeed in all the Wars of *Europe*, in which the Princes engaged, have thought fit to make any Declaration, the Reaſons of ſuch a War have been publickly Aſſign'd.

The meaning of which I take to be thus, that whereas no wiſe Prince will Invade his Neighbours without Cauſe, nor Engage his Subjects in the Hazards and Expences of a War, in which much Money muſt be ſpent, and much Blood be anſwer'd for, without very good Grounds for a Declaration of War, is an Appeal to God and Man concerning the Juſtice of the Undertaking.

'Tis true, the *French* King, the King of *Poland*, and Czar of *Muſcovy*, have taken up a new Method of late Years; the former gave it for a Reaſon of his Invading the States General, *That he was ill ſatisfied with them*; and the latter have Attacqued the King of *Sweden* without any Reaſon or Declaration at all; but all theſe are accounted Infamous and Diſhonourable, and Methods which no juſt Prince will purſue; and therefore the Declaration againſt *France*, at the beginning of the laſt War, has its Reaſons at large ſet down—— and theſe Reaſons ſeem to anſwer the Queſtion; *That a Breach of the Ballance of Power is a ſufficient Ground of War.*

Before I proceed to the Particulars, I deſire to explain my ſelf what I mean by the Ballance of Power, and what by the Breach of it.

1. By the Ballance of Power I mean this, that it is found by Experience, that the only way to preſerve the Peace of *Europe*, is, ſo to form the ſeveral Powers and Princes, into Parties and Intereſts, that either Conjunctively or Seperately, no one Party or Power may be able to ſuppreſs another; and ſo *by addition of the Power ſuppreſt* to his own, grow too ſtrong for his Neighbours.

Neighbours. I cou'd give many Inſtances of this Ballance; but to go further, the City of *Hamburgh* is an Eminent Example of the ſafety of ſuch a Ballance; which by a due Diviſion of Intereſt, is preſerv'd from falling into the Hands of the *Danes* on one Hand, the *Brandenburgher* on another, and the Houſe of *Lunenburgh* on the other; whereas ſhe were eaſily Devoured by any of thoſe powers ſeparately and apart.

All our Leagues and Treaties make mention of this Ballance of Power, being the Foundation of the Peace of *Europe*, and of the laſt Conſequence to be preſerved.

The Firſt Treaty of Partition made in behalf of the Young Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*; has in its Preamble, as a Juſt Cauſe of ſuch a Treaty, "*To Prevent by Meaſures Taken in Time, the Event which might raiſe New Wars in Europe.*

The Second Article of the ſame Treaty ſays, that "*As the Chief Aim which his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and* "*His Majeſty of* Great Britain, *and the States-General, do* "*propoſe to themſelves is, the Maintaining the General Tran-* "*quility of* Europe; *and his Catholick Majeſty having no Iſ-* "*ſue, the Succeſſion, coming to fall, wou'd Infallibly occaſion* "*a new War*; and again Art. III. *Whereas the Two* "*Kings, and the States-General, Deſire above all things,* "*the preſervation of the Publick Quiet*; therefore Art. IV. "It is Stipulated and Agree'd, *&c.*

Here the Ballance of Power is at large Explain'd, by having ſo many Dominions fall into the Hands of one Prince; by which he ſhould be too ſtrong, and Conſequently able to oppreſs his Neighbours.

2. By the breach of this Ballance, I mean when any One Prince, by Brigues, and Intreagues, or otherwiſe by Force, attempts to Enlarge his Power, as is ſuppoſed in Caſe of the Death of the King of *Spain*, in the ſame Treaty mentioned before, by which ſuch Prince would become too ſtrong for his Neighbour.

Now ſince all Caſes, which may juſtifie a Treaty, may juſtifie a War, otherwiſe no Treaty would have any Signification; becauſe without power to reſent the breach

of

of such a Treaty, it wou'd be of no effect; it seems plain by these Treaties, that all these Princes do allow an Infraction of the General Tranquility, by any addition of power Destructive of the Due Ballance, is a sufficient Ground of a War; since all these Treaties have an Article of Guarrantee, by which each Party Obliges to one another, to join their Forces against whosoever shall make any breach of such a Treaty. But then 'tis the Article of Guarantee makes the War Justifiable, not barely the addition, or encrease of Power.

Having thus explain'd my self, I shall examine what just Grounds we Really have for a War.

For a War with *Spain* we have most undoubted Justifiable Grounds, which indeed amount to an absolute necessity, in point of preservation, both of our Commerce with other Nations, and the safety of *England* it self, and our Allys.

We are bound by the Laws of Confederacy: The seperate Article of the Grand Allyance between the Emperor, *England* and the States, wherein it is expresly Covenanted:

'*That in Case the present King of* Spain *shall Dye without* "*Lawful Issue, they will with all their Forces, assist his Im-*"*perial Majesty or his Heirs, in taking the Succession of the* "Spanish *Monarchy, Lawfully belonging to his House*

Here is an Obligation, which I doubt those Gentlemen overlook'd, who said we had nothing to do to concern our selves in the Quarrel between the Emperour and the King of *Spain*.

The Present possessor of *Spain* being an avow'd Confederate of *France*; and having Invaded the Rights of an Ally, Common preservation Engages us against him.

This is exprest in other Cases by an Exorbitant power; when a Prince by invasion of anothers Right, or otherwise oppressing his Neighbours, manifestly attempts the getting an exorbitant power; it has always been allow'd a sufficient just Cause of Leagues and Confederacyes: thus the Emperor *Charles 5th.* join'd with *Henry* the *8th.* and the *Venetians* Leagu'd against *Francis* the First;

and

and thus *Henry* the 4th of *France*, *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, and the States, united to suppress the Exorbitant power of *Spain*. And thus *Gustavus Adolphus* Leagued with the Protestants of *Germany*, and King *Henry* the 2d of *France*, to check the Formidable Greatness of *Ferdinand* the 2d Emperour of *Germany*! If it has thus alternately been the allow'd practice of Princes in all Ages; why shou'd it be Doubtful now, that it is Lawful to Confederate for the publick Tranquility; and since the King of *Spain* has made an aggression, by seizing the Lawful Inheritance of our Confederate the Emperour; there is without doubt a just and necessary occasion of beginning a War with him.

In the last Declaration of War against *France*, the preamble to the particular Article of Reasons, runs thus.

" *When we consider the many Unjust methods the* French " *King hath of Late Years taken to gratifie his Ambition*, &c. " *And has declared War against our Allyes without any pro-* " *vocation, we can do no less than joyn with our Allyes in* " *opposing the Designs of the* French *King, as the Disturber* " *of the Peace, and the Common Enemy of the Christian World.*

Here the *French* King Gratifying his own Ambition, and Disturbing the Publick Peace, and invading our Allyes is reckoned so sufficient a Cause, that we can do no less than joyn against him: but further see the Declaration.

" *And besides the Obligation we lye under by Treaties* " *with our Allies, which are a Sufficient justification of us* " *for taking up Arms at this time, since they have call'd* " *upon us so to do: The many Injuries*, &c. And then Comes the Insults of the *French* upon our own Subjects.

Whoever will read the Declaration, will find the personal and particular Injuries as to *England* are not alledged, nor indeed were not the Causes of that War, tho' they are brought in as Circumstances; but the preserving the publick Tranquility, the just Defence of our Allies, and the performing the Treaties and Engagements made with them.

Thus

Thus we have receiv'd no particular injury from the Duke *D'Anjou*, nor from the *Spaniſh* Nation, nor have no reaſon to quarrel with them as a Nation, but as the one has Invaded our Ally and Confederate the Emperor, and ſurpriz'd and poſſeſs'd his Lawful Inheritance, and as the other is in a cloſe Confederacy with, and acted by the *French* Power, to the danger of the Peace, and publick Tranquility of *Europe*, we are indiſpenſably bound beſides what has been ſaid, to aſſiſt the Emperour with all our Forces, for the putting him in Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, according to the ſeparate Article mention'd before.

As to a War with *France*, I can yet ſee no Juſt Foundation to begin it upon, other than as before; I do not ſay but it may follow as a Conſequence, upon the probability of the *French* King's attacking ſome part of the Confederacy, but till he has done it, it ſeems not to be our buſineſs to meddle with him.

It may be Objected, that while he Aſſiſts the King of *Spain* with all his Forces, though it be as Auxiliars, 'tis in effect a War with *France*.

'Tis true it is Virtually a War with *France*, and *let him look to that*, but ſtill 'tis not immediately a War with the *French* Nation, nor can we juſtify a War againſt them, until ſome Breach of the late Treaty of *Reſwick* can be aſſign'd; unleſs a contriv'd deſign of the *French* King, to Aggrandiſe himſelf, and his Great and Exorbitant Power be allow'd to be a ſufficient reaſon.

I think I have given no ſufficient reaſon for any Body to ſuſpect me of *Jacobitiſm*, or of being a Friend to the *French* Intereſt, nor unleſs I am miſunderſtood, can any thing be drawn from this Paper to argue, that we ſhould bear to be Inſulted by the *French* in the Article of the pretended New King.

But if we muſt go to War, I hope we ſhall Quarrel firſt with them who have firſt Injur'd us, and who have Invaded our Allies, I mean the King of *Spain*, if the *French* will Eſpouſe his Quarrel, let him take his Fate; When he makes the like, or any attack, either upon us,

or

or our Allies, as King of *France*, I hope we ſhall not be afraid to Declare War againſt him too; but till he does, we cannot Legally be the aggreſſors, unleſs on the Account of the Ballance of Power as aforeſaid.

I cannot diſmiſs this Article without ſhewing, that by this way of Proceeding, I mean by a War with *Spain*, not with *France*, we ſhall,

1. Have many advantages, which otherwiſe we ſhall not have in a War with *France* only, or with both together.
2. The *French* will have more diſadvantages in maintaining a War ſo remote from them, than they wou'd have at home.

If then I can make out firſt, that 'tis more Honourable, and next that 'tis more profitable to begin a War with *Spain*, and not with *France*; I ſhall ask no more, let better Reaſons be brought by them that can find them out, for I cannot.

1. By a War with *Spain* the *Engliſh* Trade will be more at Liberty; for tho' it may be allow'd that many Privateers will be fitted out in *France* with *Spaniſh* Commiſſioners, yet it will not be ſuppoſed to be near the number that uſed to be during the late War, becauſe the *French* Squadrons continuing long from home, they cannot ſhift their Men into the Privateers, as they did laſt War, when ſometimes two thirds of the Sea-men of their Fleet were on board their Privateers, for moſt part of the Winter, and in the Summer were call'd in again at demand; ſo that our Trade, eſpecially our home Trade, and *Weſt-India* Trade, will be much freer than before.

2. Our Plantations will be viſibly Enrich'd, both by open Trade, and conſtant Depredations in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, which never fail'd in a War with *Spain*, to be great gain to the *Engliſh*.

They know very little of Trade, who are ignorant that the greateſt Advantage the *French* gain of us in a War, is in their Privateers ſurpriſing ſo many of our Merchant Ships, which can never be avoided in a War, becauſe

becauſe of the great quantity of Shipping we employ in every Corner of the Seas, and the Impoſſibility of aſſigning Convoys to every Part of the World.

Some have affirm'd, *how true I know not*, that during the laſt War they took Three Thouſand Sail of our Ships, and the loſs to the *Engliſh* has been computed at Twenty Millions.

And tho' I queſtion not but that in caſe of a new Rupture, we ſhall take ſome better Care to ſecure our Trade than was before, yet it muſt be allow'd that a great many of our Ships will fall into their Hands.

And this is the more a Diſadvantage to us, becauſe we cannot repay them in kind, the number of their Shipping being ſo much inferiour to ours, that our Privateers can very rarely make it worth while to fit out: 'Tis true Capt. *Young*, and the *Jerſey* and *Guernſey* Men made ſomething of it, lying ſo near their Coaſt, as to be always in view, but for the reſt there are but few Privateers who got enough to make it worth while.

If then our War be Commenc'd with *Spain*, and not with *France*, tho' it be in effect a War with *France*, it will without doubt leſſen the number of their Rovers, and leave our Trade at more Liberty.

'Tis Objected here, that the *French* know their Advantage, and ſee it ſo well, that they will not ſuffer it, but will declare War firſt——If ſo, Argument is at an end, and all the World will own a War Neceſſary when the *French* begin it.

I am no Privy Councellour in *France*, nor ſo much a Friend to their Deſigns as to be acquainted with them before Hand, but I may be allow'd to gueſs from what ſeems to be the Intereſt of the *French*, he will never Break firſt with us.

Kings never Quarrel for what they poſſeſs already, all Aggreſſions of Force are to procure the Poſſeſſion of ſomewhat they cannot otherwiſe obtain.

The *French* King has plac'd his Grandſon upon the Throne of *Spain*, if you will let him alone there, his

buſineſs

buſineſs is not to Quarrel with you, if you diſturb him in this new Poſſeſſion he will defend it.

All his proceedings this laſt Summer, are proofs of this: Fortifying of *Flanders*, drawing Lines, Strengthning of Towns, laying up Magazines in order to prevent your Attacks, has been all the War he has made; had he intended to have Invaded his Neighbours, what could have hindered it, at the firſt of the Spring, when their Forces were weak, their Towns unprovided, and the powerful Alliances they have ſince made, unconcluded and uncertain; when he had 120 Battalions of Foot upon their Frontiers, and ſome of the beſt of their Forces in his Cuſtody?

I think I do not aſſume too much, when I ſay, that it is not at all probable he ſhould firſt Attack us, and I am ſure we ſhall be much to blame if we firſt Attack him.

It remains to make it out, that the *French* King will be under more Diſadvantages by a Auxiliary, than by an immediate War.

And to make good this, I need only refer to the War now on Foot in *Italy*; and to come to it, I muſt premiſe what is a known Truth, that none of the Dominions of *Spain* are able of themſelves to maintain Forces enough to defend them; nay the whole Revenue of *Spain*, under the preſent Oeconomy, is not able to maintain the preſent Army in *Italy*, ſo that generally ſpeaking, the dead Weight of the Charge muſt lye upon the *French*, this I ſuppoſe will be readily granted.

Now 'tis plain to thoſe who are acquainted with the Affairs of *Italy*; that the Army now on Foot there, Coſts the King of *France* more Money than a Hundred Thouſand Men in *Flanders*; the length of their Marches, the difficulty of Carriage, all their Stores being carried upon *Mules* over the Mountains, the dearneſs of Proviſions, and the expence of Recruites, with a Multitude of *Et Cetera's*, which ſerve to Enhance the Account.

The

The *French* Court were not Insensible of this in the last War, and the *French* Polititians gave it as the principal Reason to excuse the unusual, and indeed unheard of Concessions made by the *French* to the Duke of *Savoy*, in order to draw him off from the Confederacy.

And those who blame that Prince's Conduct in quitting his Engagement with the Emperor, would do well to consider what the Terms of Accommodation were which the *French* made with him, and compare them with the Posture his Affairs were then in, or indeed were ever likely to be in:

The restoring Peace to his ruin'd Country, the recovering all the Dutchy of *Savoy* out of the Hands of the *French*, the dismissing a *French* Army which had liv'd at Discretion in the Bowels of his Country, and at the Gates of his Pallace; the demolishing *Pigneroll*, which was a Hook in his Nostrils, a Fortress of that Impregnable Strength, as it was call'd one of the Keys of *France*, which cost the *French* 100 Millions in Fortifying and Maintaining, and was an Inlet for a *French* Army into his Country whenever they pleas'd, the quitting a Debt of many Millions, which was always a handle to take hold of whenever the *French* found it convenient to quarrel with him: The Marrying his Daughter to the Fortune of *France*, and setting her in the highest Place of Honour in the World without a Portion.

Why was all this done, but because the *French* King found the expence of a War in *Italy* Intollerable to him, the Councils of *France* have never been found so Incoherent with themselves, as to give away such Countrys, and so many Millions for nothing; there must be some Equivalent Consideration, the Forces of the *Savoyard* could not be so formidable to him, for they were always beaten: As to the *Germans* that were there, they were to be expected again upon the *Rhine*, and the *English* Auxiliaries in *Flanders*, the immediate Forces of the Duke were never above 15000, and it cannot be imagin'd, without Monstrous Absurdities, that those

15000

15000 Men could have such an Influence on the *French* as to be bought off at such an Immense Price.

I think I may Challenge any Man to give a Reason, other than what I insist upon, for the Extravagant Conditions, which the Duke of *Savoy* obtain'd.

It was the Prodigious Expence of Conveying, Maintaining and Recruiting the *French Army* beyond the Mountains, that made the *French* weary of the War there.

Another Disadvantage the *French* must lye under, is, that the Seat of War is their own; in former Wars we have found the *French* have always been wise enough to make War at the cost of the Enemy, the Tables are turn'd upon them in *Italy*, for the Neutrality of the Princes is a thing of such Consequence, that they are obliged now to Fight on their own Ground, or that of their Allies, where they are oblig'd to pay for what they have, and that at a double Price too, or if they pay in *French* Coin, they are paid again by the Country with their Brains being knock'd out.

I might add, the Inconveniences they are under, from the natural Hatred of the Country, which has given such manifest Advantages to the *Germans* this Campaign, that we have never known the *French* so fool'd in the last Age, as they have been in one Summer.

If then there is one Place in the World where the *French* may be handl'd with more Advantage than another, why should not the weight of the War be press'd hardest there, where the Damage will be most sensibly felt, and most easily obtain'd.

From the Land, let us examine the State of the War at Sea; I think it will be easily granted me that the *English* and *Dutch* are Superiour there, let them that question it, inform us how else could they block up their Fleet at *Thoulon*, Bombard their Towns, and Insult their Coast for Two Years together.

If then we maintain the Superiority at Sea, as I see no reason to Fear; what can hinder us making our selves amends upon the *Spaniards* in their *West Indies*,

for all the Losses that either they or the *French* can make us suffer by Privateering.

If Mounsieur *Ponti* with but eight Ships could take *Carthagena*, and bring home a Booty of Five Millions; I cannot see what should prevent us making much greater Advantages.

There never was yet a War between the *English* and the *Spaniard*, but that we made Extraordinary Advantages of their *West-India* Wealth.

Why should we fancy to our selves, that we shall be less able to make a profit of them now, than in *Oliver*'s time, or in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time.

Or why must a Royal Fleet be less able to Injure the *Spaniard* in the *West-Indies*, than Monsieur *Ponti*'s little Squadron, or than a few Buccaneers have often done.

I shall not descend to more particulars, only I must say in case of a War with *Spain*;

If our Fleets do not surprize their Galleons, and wholly Interrupt the Commerce of *Spain* with their *Indies*.

If our Plantations are not Enrich'd by Constant Depredations upon the *Spaniards* in *America*.

If we do not take from them the *Islands* of *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*.

If we do not Land on the Continent, and share with them in the Treasures of that Rich Country.

We must either be acted by very ill Councils at home, or have false and ridiculous Management Abroad.

If these Advantages shall be quitted, when there is the justest Ground to begin a War that can be desir'd; and a War with *France* Commenc'd on weaker Foundations, where naked Peace must be the utmost of our Wishes if we Conquer, and Blows, and Loss, the constant Attendants of the War, we must indeed go thro' the worst of it, but surely the World will think this Nation forsaken of their Senses, and blind to their Common Interest.

It may be reply'd to all this, we must have a War with both of them; to which I shall say, if it must be so, His Majesty knows better than He can be told, I believe

believe by any Body, how to touch the *French* in the most sensible part; and I am perswaded will so wisely order his Affairs, as to be wholly on the defensive Part in *Flanders*, in order to carry on a War in Remote Places, with more Vigor where the Damage may be greater, and the danger to their Affairs equal.

But say others, it is of the utmost Consequence to recover *Flanders*, as a Barrier to the *English* and *Dutch*; I answer, I would Compound with the *French* for the Conquest of *Flanders* in 20 Years, although we were to be every Year Victor; but the way to bring the War to a happy Conclusion, is by wounding the *Spaniard* in some Weaker and more sensible Part, so as upon a Peace he shall be glad to quit *Flanders* for an Equivalent; and if the *Germans* are well supported in *Italy*, this may be a far less difficult thing than the recovery of *Flanders*.

Besides, 'twould defeat the Expectation of the *French*, and render all his vast Expences there fruitless, when some Kingdom is torn from the *Spaniard* in another Place, for the Recovery of which he shall be glad to quit us *Flanders* without Blows.

Thus we may have a War with both, and Fight with but one, as well as have a War with one, and Fight with both; the *French* will always come in, but 'tis the *Spaniard* we ought to Fight with, for against them we have just Reason to Fight; they are far the easiest to be beaten, and from them most is to be got. If any one can find better Reasons, I shall submit when I see them.

An ARGUMENT, shewing, that a Standing Army, with Consent of Parliament, is not Inconsistent with a Free Government, &c.

The PREFACE.

THE *present Pen and Ink War rais'd against a Standing Army, has more ill Consequences in it, than are at first sight to be discern'd. The Pretence is specious, and the cry of Liberty is very pleasing; but the Principle is mortally Contagious and Destructive of the Essential Safety of the Kingdom: Liberty and Property are the Glorious Attributes of the* English *Nation; and the dearer they are to us, the less danger we are in of losing them; but I could never yet see it prov'd, that the losing them by a small Army was such as we should expose our selves to all the World for it. Some People talk so big of our own Strength, that they think* England *able to defend it self against all the World. I presume such talk without Book; I think the prudentest Course is to prevent the Trial, and that is only to hold the Ballance of* Europe *as the King now does; and if there be a War to keep it abroad. How these Gentlemen will do that with a* Militia, *I should be glad to see Proposed; 'tis not the King of* England *alone, but the Sword of* England *in the Hand of the King, that gives Laws of Peace and War now to* Europe; *and those who would thus wrest the Sword out of his Hand in time of Peace, bid the fairest of any men in the World to renew the War.*

The Arguments *against an* Army *have been strongly urg'd; and the Authors with an unusual Assurance, Boast already of*

of their Conqueſt, though their Armour *is not yet put off.* I think their Triumph goes before their Victory; *and if Books and Writing will not, God be thanked the Parliament will Confute them, by taking care to maintain ſuch Forces, and no more, as they think needful for our ſafety abroad, without dagenr at home, and leaving it to time to make it appear, that ſuch an Army, with Conſent of Parliament is not inconſiſtent with* Free Government, *&c.*

An ARGUMENT, *ſhewing, that a Standing Army,* &c.

IN the great Debates about a Standing Army, and in all the Arguments us'd on one ſide and 'tother, it ſeems to me that both Parties are equally guilty of running into the Extreams of the Controverſie.

Some have taken up ſuch terrible Notions of an Army, that take it how you will, call it what you will; be it Rais'd, Paid or Commanded by whom you will, and let the Circumſtances be alter'd never ſo much, the Term is Synonimous, an Army is an Army; and if they don't Enſlave us, the Thanks is not to our good Conduct; for ſo many Soldiers, ſo many Maſters: They may do it if they will; and if they do not do it now, they may do it in another Reign, when a King ſhall ariſe who knows not *Joſeph*, and therefore the Riſque is not to be run by any means: From hence they draw the Conſequence, *That a Standing Army is Inconſiſtent with a Free Government*, &c. which is the Title to the Argument.

This we find back'd by a Diſcourſe of *Militia*'s; and by a Second Part of the Argument, *&c.* and all theſe Three, which ſeem to me to be wrote by the ſame Hand, agree in this Point in General, That the War being at an end, *no Forces at all* are to be kept in Pay,

no Men to be Maintained whose Profession is bearing Arms, whose Commission is to Kill and Slay, as he has it in *the Second Part*; but they must be Dismist, as Men for whom there is no more Occasion against an Enemy, and are dangerous to be kept up, least they find Occasion against our selves.

The Advocates for the Necessity of a *Standing Army*, seem to make light of all these Fears and Jealousies; and plead the Circumstances of the Kingdom, with Relation to our Leagues and Confederacys abroad, the Strength of our Neighbours, a Pretender to the Crown in Being, the Uncertainties of Leagues, and the like, as Arguments to prove an Army necessary. I must own these are no Arguments any longer than those Circumstances continue, and therefore can amount to no more than to argue the necessity of an Army for a time, which time none of them has ventured to Assign, nor to say how, being once Establish'd, we shall be sure to be rid of them, in case a new King should succeed before the time be expir'd, who may not value our Liberty at the rate his present Majesty has done.

I desire calmly to consider both these Extreams, and if it be possible, to find out the safe *Medium* which may please us all.

If there be any Person who has an ill Design in pushing thus against the Soldiery. I am not to expect, that less than a Disbanding the Army will satisfie him; but such who have no other end than preserving our Liberties entire *and leaving them so to Posterity*, will be satisfied with what they know is sufficient to that end; *for he who is not content with what will fully answer the end he proposes, has some other end than that which he proposes.* I make no Reflections upon any Party, but I propose to direct this Discourse to the honest well meaning *English* Freeholder, who has a share in the *Terra firma*, and therefore is concern'd to preserve Freedom to the Inhabitant who loves his Liberty better than his Life, and won't sell it for Money; and this is the Man

who

who has the moſt reaſon to fear a Standing Army, for he has ſomething to loſe; as he is moſt concern'd for the Safety of a Ship, who has a Cargo on her Bottom.

This Man is the hardeſt to be made believe, that he cannot be ſafe without an Army, becauſe he finds he is not eaſie with one. To this Man all the ſad Inſtances of the Slavery of Nations, by Standing Armies, ſtand as ſo many Buoys to warn him of the Rocks which other Free Nations have ſplit upon; and therefore 'tis to this Man we are to ſpeak.

And in order to ſtate the Caſe right, we are to diſtinguiſh firſt between *England* formerly, and *England* now; between a Standing Army able to enſlave the Nation, and a certain Body of Forces enough to make us ſafe.

England now is in ſundry Circumſtances, different from *England* formerly, with reſpect to the manner of Fighting, the Circumſtances of our Neighbours, and of our Selves; and there are ſome Reaſons why a Militia are not, and perhaps I might make it out, cannot be made fit for the Uſes of the preſent Wars. In the Ancient Times of *England*'s Power, we were for many Years the Invaders of our Neighbours, and quite out of fear of Invaſions at Home; but before we arriv'd to that Magnitude in the World, 'tis to be obſerv'd we were hardly ever Invaded, but we were Conquer'd. *William* the Conqueror was the laſt; and if the *Spaniard* did not do the ſame, 'twas becauſe God ſet the Elements in Battle Array againſt them, and they were prevented bringing over the Prince of *Parma*'s Army; which if they had done, 'twould have gone very hard with us; but we owe it wholly to Providence.

I believe it may be ſaid, that from that time to this Day, the Kingdom has never been without ſome Standing Troops of Soldiers entertain'd in Pay, and always either kept at Home, or employ'd Abroad; and yet no evil Conſequence followed, nor do I meet with any Votes of the Parliament againſt them as Grievances, or

Motions made to Disband them, till the Days of King *Charles* the first. Queen *Elizabeth*, tho' she had no *Guard du Corps*, yet she had her *Guards du Terres*. She had even to her last Hour several Armies, *I may call them*, in Pay among Foreign States and Princes, which upon any visible Occasion were ready to be call'd home. King *James* the First had the same in *Holland*, in the Service of *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*, and in the Unfortunate Service of the King of *Bohemia*; and that Scotch Regiment, known by the name of *Douglas*'s Regiment, have been (*they say*) a Regiment 250 Years. King *Charles* the First had the same in the several Expeditions for the Relief of *Rochel*, and that fatal Descent upon the Isle of *Rhe*, and in his Expeditions into *Scotland*; and they would do well to reconcile their Discourse to it self, who say in one place, *If King* Charles *had had Five Thousand Men, the Nation had never struck one stroak for their Liberties*; and at the same time say, in another place, *That the Parliament were like to have been Petition'd out of Doors by an Army a hundred and fifty Miles off, tho' there was a Scotch Army at the Heels of them*: For to me it appears that King *Charles* the First had an Army then, and would have kept it, but that he had not the Purse to pay them, of which more may be said hereafter.

But *England* now stands in another Posture, our Peace at Home seems secure, and I believe it is so; but to maintain our Peace abroad, 'tis necessary to enter into Leagues and Confederacies: Here is one Neighbour grown too great for all the rest; *as they are single States or Kingdoms*, and therefore to mate him, several must join for mutual Assistance, according to the *Scotch* Law of Duelling, *that if one can't beat you ten shall*. These Alliances are under certain Stipulations and Agreements, with what Strength, and in what Places, to aid and assist one another; and to perform these Stipulations, something of Force must be at hand if occasion require. That these Confederacies are of absolute and indispensible necessity, to preserve the Peace of a weaker against a strong

a ſtronger Prince, paſt Experience has taught us too plainly to need an Argument.

There is another conſtant Maxim of the preſent State of the War; and that is, *carry the War into your Enemies Country, and always keep it out of your own.* This is an Article has been very much oppoſed 'tis true; and ſome, who knew no better, would talk much of the fruitleſs Expence of a War abroad; as if it was not worth while to defend your Confederates Country, to make it a Barrier to your own. This is too weak an Argument alſo to need any trouble about; but this again makes it abſolutely neceſſary to have always ſome Troops ready to ſend to the Aſſiſtance of thoſe Confederates if they are invaded. Thus at the Peace of *Nimeguen*, ſix Regiments were left in *Holland* to continue there in time of Peace, to be ready in caſe of a Rupture. To ſay, that inſtead of this we will raiſe them for their aſſiſtance when wanted, would be ſomething, if this potent Neighbour, were not the *French* King, whoſe Velocity of Motion the *Dutch* well remember in 1672. But then, *ſay they*, we may ſend our Militia. Firſt, *The King cannot Command them to go*; and Secondly, if he cou'd, *no body would accept them*; and if they would go, and would be accepted of, *they would be good for nothing*: If we have no Forces to aſſiſt a Confederate, who will value our Friendſhip, or aſſiſt us if we wanted it? To ſay we are Self dependent, and ſhall never need the Aſſiſtance of our Neighbour, is to ſay what we are not ſure of, and this is certain it is as needful to maintain the Reputation of *England* in the Eſteem of our Neighbours, as 'tis to defend our Coaſts in caſe of an Invaſion; for keep up the Reputation of our Power, and we ſhall never be Invaded.

If our Defence from Inſurrections or Invaſions were the only neceſſary part of a future War, I ſhou'd be the readier to grant the point, and to think our Militia might be made uſeful; but our buſineſs is *Principiis Obſta*, to beat the Enemy before he comes to our own door. Our Buſineſs in caſe of a Rupture, is to aid

our

our Confederate Princes, that they may be able to ſtand between us and Danger: Our Buſineſs is to preſerve *Flanders*, to Garriſon the Frontier-Towns, and be in the Field in Conjunction with the Confederate Armies: This is the way to prevent Invaſions, and Deſcents: And when they can tell us that our Militia is proper for this work, then we will ſay ſomething to it.

I'll ſuppoſe for once what I hope may never fall out, That a Rupture of this Peace ſhou'd happen, and the *French*, according to Cuſtom, break ſuddenly into *Flanders*, and over-run it, and after that *Holland*, what Condition wou'd ſuch a Neighbourhood of ſuch a Prince, reduce us to? If it be anſwer'd again, Soldiers may be rais'd to aſſiſt them. I anſwer, as before, let thoſe who ſay ſo, read the Hiſtory of the *French* King's Irruption into *Holland* in the Year 1672, where he conquer'd 60 ſtrong Fortified Towns in 6 Weeks time: And tell me what it will be to the purpoſe to raiſe Men to fight an Enemy after the Conqueſt is made.

'Twill not be amiſs to obſerve here that the Reputation and Influence the *Engliſh* Nation has had abroad among the Princes of *Chriſtendom*, has been always more or leſs according as the Power of the Prince, to aid and aſſiſt, or to injure and offend was eſteem'd. Thus Queen *Elizabeth* carried her Reputation Abroad by the Courage of her *Engliſh* Soldiers and Seamen; and on the contrary, what a ridiculous figure did King *James*, with his *Beati Pacifici*, make in all the Courts of *Chriſtendom*? How did the Spaniards and the Emperor *banter* and *buffoon* him? How was his Ambaſſador aſham'd to treat for him, while Count *Coloredo* told Count *Mansfield*, *That his New Maſter* (meaning King *James*) *knew neither how to make Peace or War?* King *Charles* the Firſt far'd much in the ſame manner: And how was it altered in the Caſe of *Oliver*.

Tho' his Government did a Tyrant reſemble,
He made England *Great, and her Enemies tremble.*

Dialogue of the Horſes.

And

And what is it places the preſent King at the Helm of the Confederacies? Why do they commit their Armies to his Charge, and appoint the Congreſs of their Plenipotentaries at his Court? Why do diſtreſſed Princes ſeek his Mediation, as the Dukes of *Holſtein*, *Savoy*, and the like? Why did the Emperor and King of *Spain* leave the whole Management of the Peace to him? 'Tis all from the Reputation of his Conduct and the *Engliſh* Valour under him; and 'tis abſolutely neceſſary to ſupport this Character which *England* now bears in the World, for the great Advantages which may and will be made from it; and this Character can never Live, nor theſe Allyances be ſupported with no force at Hand to perform the Conditions.

Theſe are ſome Reaſons why a Force is neceſſary, but the Queſtion is, What Force? For I Grant, it does not follow from hence, that a great Army muſt be kept on Foot in time of Peace, as the Author of the Second Part of the Argument ſays is pleaded for.

Since then no Army, and a great Army, are extreams equally dangerous, the one to our Liberty at Home, and the other to our Reputation Abroad, and the Safety of our Confederates; it remains to Inquire what *Medium* is to be found out; or in plain *Engliſh*, what Army may, with ſafety to our Liberties, be Maintain'd in *England*, or what means may be found out to make ſuch an Army ſerviceable for the Defence of us and our Allies, and yet not dangerous to our Conſtitution.

That any Army at all can be Safe, *the Argument denies*, but that cannot be made out; a Thouſand Men is an Aruy as much as 100000; as the *Spaniſh* Armada is call'd, *An Armada*, tho' they ſeldom fit out above Four Men of War; and on this Account I muſt crave leave to ſay, I do Confute the Aſſertion in the Title of the Argument, that a Standing Army is Inconſiſtent with a Free Government, and I ſhall further do it by the Authority of Parliament.

In the Claim of Right, presented to the present K. and which he swore to observe as the *Pacta Conventa* of the Kingdom, it is declared, *That the Raising or Keeping a Standing Army within the Kingdom in time of Peace, unless it be by Consent of Parliament, is against Law.*

This plainly lays the whole stress of the Argument not against the thing it self, *A Standing Army*, nor against the Season, *in time of Peace*, but against the Circumstance, *Consent of Parliament*; and I think nothing is more Rational than to Conclude from thence, that a Standing Army in time of Peace, with Consent of Parliament, is not against Law, and I may go on, nor is not Inconsistent with a free Government, nor Destructive of the *English* Monarchy.

There are two Distinctions necessary therefore in the present Debate, to bring the Question to a narrow Compass.

First, *I distinguish between a Great Army and a Small Army. And*

Secondly, *I distinguish between an Army kept on* Foot *without Consent of Parliament, and an Army with Consent of Parliament.*

And whereas we are told, an Army of Soldiers is an Army of Masters, and the Consent of Parliament don't alter it, but they may turn them out of Doors who Rais'd them, as they did the Long Parliament. The First distinction answers that; for if a great Army may do it, a small Army can't; and then the Second Distinction regulates the First. For it cannot be supposed, but the Parliament when they give that Consent which can only make an Army Lawful, will not Consent to a larger Army than they can so Master, as that the Liberties or People of *England*, shall never be in danger from them.

No Man will say this cannot be, because the Number may be supposed as small as you please; but to avoid the Sophistry of an Argument, I'll suppose the very

ry Troops which we see the Parliament have not Voted to be Disbanded; that is, those which were on Foot before the Year 1680. No Man will deny them to be a Standing Army, and yet sure no Man will imagine any danger to our Liberties from them.

We are ask'd, if you establish an Army, and a Revenue to pay them, *How shall we be sure they will not continue themselves?* But will any Man ask that Question of such an Army as this? Can Six Thousand Men tell the Nation they won't Disband, but will continue themselves, and then Raise Money to do it? Can they Exact it by Military Execution? If they can, our *Militia must be very despicable.* The keeping such a Remnant of an Army does not hinder but the Militia may be made as useful as you please; and the more useful you make it, the less danger from this Army: And however it may have been the Business of our Kings to make the Militia as useless as they could, the present King never shew'd any Tokens of such a Design. Nor is it more than will be needful, for 6000 Men by themselves won't do, if the Invasion we speak of should ever be attempted. What has been said of the Appearance of the People on the *Purbeck fancied Invasion*, was very true; but I must say, had it been a true One of Forty Thousand Regular Troops, all that Appearance cou'd have done nothing, but have drove the Country in order to starve them, and then have run away: I am apt enough to grant what has been said of the Impracticableness of any Invasion upon us, while we are Masters at Sea; but I am sure the Defence of *England*'s Peace, lies in making War in *Flanders*. Queen *Elizabeth* found it so, her way to beat the *Spaniards*, was by helping the *Dutch* to do it. And she as much Defended *England* in aiding Prince *Maurice*, to win the Great Battel of *Newport*, as she did in Defeating their *Invincible Armada*. *Oliver Cromwel* took the same Course; for he no sooner declared War against *Spain*, but he Embark'd his Army for *Flanders*: The late King *Charles* did the same against the *French*, when after the Peace of *Nimeguen*, Six Regiments of *English*

liſh and *Scots* were always left in the Service of the *Dutch*, and the preſent War is a further Teſtimony: For where has it been Fought, not in *England*, *God be thanked*, but in *Flanders*? And what are the Terms of the Peace, but more Frontier Towns in *Flanders*? And what is the Great Barrier of this Peace, but *Flanders*; the Conſequence of this may be gueſs'd by the Anſwer King *William* gave when Prince of *Orange*, in the late Treaty of *Nimeguen*; when, to make the Terms the eaſier, 'twas offered, *That a Satisfaction ſhou'd be made to him by the* French, *for his Lands in* Luxemburgh; to which the Prince generouſly reply'd, *He would part with all his Lands in* Luxemburgh *to get the* Spaniards *one good Frontier Town in* Flanders. The reaſon is plain; for every one of thoſe Towns, tho' they were immediately the *Spaniards*, were really Bulwarks to keep the *French* the further off from his own Country; and thus it is now: And how our Militia can have any ſhare in this part of the War, I cannot imagine. It ſeems ſtrange to me to reconcile the Arguments made uſe of to magnifie the Serviceableneſs of the Militia, and the Arguments to enforce the Dread of a Standing Army; for they ſtand like two Batteries one againſt another, where the Shot from one diſmounts the Cannon of the other: *If a ſmall Army may enſlave us, our Militia are good for nothing; if good for nothiug they cannot defend us*, and then the Army is neceſſary: *If they are good, and are able to defend us, then a ſmall Army can never hurt us*, for what may defend us Abroad, may defend us at Home, and I wonder this is not conſider'd. And what is plainer in the World than that the Parliament of *England* have all along agreed to this Point, That a Standing Army in time of Peace, *with Conſent of Parliament*, is not againſt Law. The Eſtabliſhment of the Forces in the time of King *Charles* II. was not as I remember ever objected againſt in Parliament, at leaſt we may ſay the Parliament permitted them if they did not eſtabliſh them: And the Preſent Parliament ſeems enclin'd to continue the Army on the ſame foot, ſo far as may be ſuppos'd from their Vote to disband all the

Forces

Forces raiſed ſince 1680. To affirm then, *That a Standing Army*, (without any of the former Diſtinctions) *is inconſiſtent, &c.* is to argue againſt the General Senſe of the Nation, the Permiſſion of the Parliament for 50 years paſt, and the Preſent apparent Reſolutions of the beſt Compoſed Houſe that perhaps ever entred within thoſe Walls.

To this Houſe the whole Nation has left the Caſe, to act as they ſee cauſe; to them we have committed the Charge of our Liberties, nay the King himſelf has only told them His Opinion, with the Reaſons for it, *without leading them at all*; and the Article of the *Claim of Right* is left in full force: For this Conſent of Parliament is now left the whole and ſole Judge, Whether *an Army* or *no Army*; and if it Votes an Army, 'tis left ſtill the ſole Judge of the Quantity, *how many*, or *how few*.

Here it remains to enquire the direct Meaning of thoſe words, *Unleſs it be by Conſent of Parliament*, and I humbly ſuppoſe they may, among other things, include theſe Particulars.

1. *That they be rais'd and continued not by a Tacit, but Explicite Conſent of Parliament; or, to ſpeak directly, by an Act of Parliament.*
2. *That they be continued no longer than ſuch Explicite Conſent ſhall limit and appoint.*

If theſe two Heads are granted in the word *Conſent*, I am bold to affirm. Such an *Army is not inconſiſtent with a Free Government*, &c.

I am as poſitively aſſur'd of the Safety of our Liberties under the Conduct of King and Parliament, while they concur, *as I am of the Salvation of Believers by the Paſſion of our Saviour*; and I hardly think 'tis fit for a private Man to impoſe his poſitive Rules on them for Method; any more than 'tis to limit the Holy Spirit, whoſe free Agency is beyond his Power: For the King, Lords and Commons, can never err while they agree; nor is an Army of 20 or 40000 Men *either* a Scarcrow enough to enſlave us, while under that Union.

If this be allow'd, then the Question before us is, what may conduce to make the Harmony between the King, Lords and Commons eternal? And so the Debate about an Army ceases.

But to leave that Question, since Frailty attends the best of Persons, and Kings have their *faux Pas*, as well as other Men, we cannot expect the Harmony to be immortal; and therefore to provide for the worst, our Parliaments have made their own Consent the only Clause that can make an Army Legitimate: But to say that an Army directly as an Army, without these Distinctions, is destructive of the *English* Monarchy, and Inconsistent with a Free Government, *&c.* is to say then that the Parliament can destroy the *English* Monarchy; and can Establish that which is Inconsistent with a Free Government; which is ridiculous. But then we are told, that *the Power of the Sword was placed in the Lords or Barons, and how they serv'd the King in his Wars with themselves and their Vassals, and that the King had no Power to Invade the Privileges of the Barons, having no other Forces than the Vassals of his own Demeasnes to follow him*: And this Form is applauded as an extraordinary Constitution, *because there is no other Limitation of a Monarchy of any Signification than such as places the Sword in the Hand of the Subject: And all such Governments where the Prince has the Power of the Sword, tho' the People have the Power of the Purse, are no more Monarchies but Tyrannies: For not only that Government is tyrannical which is tyrannically exercis'd, but all Governments are tyrannical which have not in their Constitution sufficient Security against the Arbitrary Power of their Prince*; that is, which have not the Power of the Sword to Imploy against him if need be.

Thus we come to the Argument: Which is not how many Troops may be allow'd, or how long; but in short, *No Mercenary Troops at all can be maintain'd without Destroying our Constitution, and Metamorphozing our Government into a Tyranny.*

I admire how the Maintainer of this Basis came to omit giving us an Account of another Part of History very needful to examine, in handing down the true Notion of Government in this Nation, *viz.* of Parliaments. To supply which, and to make way for what follows, I must take leave to tell the Reader, that about the time, when this Service by Villenage and Vassalage began to be resented by the People, and by Peace and Trade they grew rich, and the Power of the Barons being too great, frequent Commotions, civil Wars and Battels were the Consequence, nay sometimes without concerning the King in the Quarrel: One Nobleman would invade another, in which the weakest suffered most, *and the Poor Man's Blood was the Price of all*; the People obtain'd Priviledges of their own, and oblig'd the King and the Barons to accept of an *Equilibrium*; this we call a Parliament: And from this the due Ballance, we have so much heard of is deduced, I need not lead my Reader to the Times and Circumstances of this, but this due Ballance is the Foundation on which we now stand, and which the Author of the Argument so highly Applauds as the best in the World; and I appeal to all Men to judge if this Ballance be not a nobler Constitution in all its Points, than the old *Gothick* Model of Government.

In that the Tyranny of the Barons was intollerable, the Misery and Slavery of the Common People insupportable, their Blood and Labour was at the absolute Will of the Lord, *and often sacrificed to their private Quarrels*: They were as much at his beck as his Pack of Hounds were at the Sound of his Horn; whether it was to march against a Foreign Enemy, or *against their own Natural Prince*: So that this was but exchanging one Tyrant for three hundred, for so many the Barons of *England* were accounted at least. And this was the Effect of the Security vested in the People, against the Arbitrary Power of the King; which was to say the Barons took care to maintain their own Ty-

ranny, and to prevent the King's Tyrannizing over them.

But 'tis said, *The Barons growing poor by the Luxury of the Times, and the Common People growing rich, they exchang'd their Vassalage for Leases, Rents, Fines, and the like.* They did so, and thereby became entituled to the Service of themselves; and so overthrew the Settlement, and from hence came a *House of Commons*: And I hope *England* has reason to value the Alteration. Let them that think not reflect on the Freedoms the Commons enjoy in *Poland*, where the *Gothick* Institution remains, and they will be satisfied.

In this Establishment of a Parliament, the Sword is indeed trusted in the Hands of the King, and *the Purse in the Hands of the People*; the People cannot make Peace or War without the King, nor the King cannot raise or maintain an Army without the People; and this is the true Ballance.

But we are told, *The Power of the Purse is not a sufficient Security without the Power of the Sword*: What! Not against ten thousand Men? To answer this, 'tis necessary to examine how far the Power of the Sword is in the Hands of the People already, and next whether the Matter of Fact be true.

I say the Sword is in part in the Hands of the People already, by the Militia, who, as the Argument says *are the People themselves*. And how are they Ballanc'd? 'Tis true, they are Commissioned by the King, but they may refuse to meet twice, till the first Pay is reimburst to the Country: And where shall the King Raise it without a Parliament? That very Militia would prevent him. So that our Law therein Authorizing the Militia to refuse the Command of the King, tacitly puts the Sword into the Hands of the People.

I come now to Examine the Matter of Fact, *That the Purse is not an Equivalent to the Sword*, which I deny to be true; and here 'twill be necessary to Examine, How often our Kings of *England* have raised Armies on their own Heads, but have been forced to Disband them for want

Want of Moneys, nay, have been forced to call a Parliament to raise Money to Disband them.

King *Charles* the First is an Instance of both these; for his First Army against the *Scots* he was forced to Dismiss for want of Pay; and then was forced to call a Parliament to Pay and Dismiss the *Scots*; and tho' he had an Army in the Field at the Pacification, and a Church Army too, yet he durst not attempt to Raise Money by them.

I am therefore to affirm, *That the Power of the Purse is an Equivalent to the Power of the Sword*; and I believe I can make it appear, if I may be allowed to instance in those numerous Armies which *Gaspar Coligni*, Admiral of *France*, and *Henry* the Fourth King of *Navar*, and *William* the First Prince of *Orange* brought out of *Germany* into *France*, and into the *Low Countries*, which all vanished, and could attempt nothing for want of a Purse to maintain them: But to come nearer, what made the Efforts of King *Charles* all Abortive, but *want of the Purse?* Time was he had the Sword in his Hand, when the Duke of *Buckingham* went on those Fruitless Voyages to *Rochell*, and himself afterwards to *Scotland*, he had Forces on Foot, a great many more than five thousand, which the Argument mentions, but he had not the Purse, at last he attempted to take it without a Parliament, *and that Ruin'd him.* King *Charles* the Second found the Power of the Purse, so much Out-ballanced the Power of the Sword, that he sat still, and let the Parliament Disband his Army for him, *almost whether he would or no.*

Besides the Power of the Purse in *England*, differs from what the same thing is in other Countries, because 'tis so sacred a thing, that *no King ever touch'd at it but he found his Ruin in it.* Nay, 'tis so odious to the Nation, that whoever attempts it, must at the same time be able to make an Entire Conquest or nothing.

If then neither *the Consent of Parliament*, nor the *smallness of an Army proposed*, nor the Power of *the Sword in*

the Hands of the Militia, which are the People themſelves, nor *the Power of the Purſe*, are not a ſufficient Ballance againſt the Arbitrary Power of the King, what ſhall we ſay? Are ten thouſand Men in Arms without Money, without Parliament Authority, hem'd in with the whole Militia of *England*, and *Dam'd by the Laws*? Are they of ſuch Force as to break our Conſtitution; I cannot ſee any reaſon for ſuch a Thought. The Parliament of *England* is a Body, of whom we may ſay, *That no Weapon formed againſt them could ever Proſper*; and they know their own Strength, and they know what Force is needful, and what hurtful, and they will certainly maintain the *firſt*, and Disband the *laſt*.

It may be ſaid here, *'Tis not the fear of ten thouſand Men, 'tis not the matter of an Army, but 'tis the* Thing *it ſelf; grant a Revenue for Life, and the next King will call it*, My Revenue, *and ſo grant an Army for this King, and the next will ſay*, Give me my Army.

To which I Anſwer, That theſe Things have been no oftner ask'd in Parliament than deny'd; and we have ſo many Inſtances in our late Times of *the Power of the Purſe*, that it ſeems ſtrange to me, that it ſhould not be allowed to be a ſufficient Ballance.

King *Charles* the Second, as I hinted before, was very loath to part with his Army rais'd in 1676. but he was forced to it for want of Money to pay them; he durſt not try whether when *Money had raiſed an Army, an Army could not raiſe Money*. 'Tis true, his Revenues were large, but Frugality was not his Talent, and that ruin'd the Deſign. King *James* the Second was a good Husband, and that very Husbandry had almoſt ruin'd the Nation; for his Revenues being well managed, he maintain'd an Army out of it. For 'tis well known, the Parliament never gave him a Penny towards it; but he never attempted to make his Army raiſe any Money; if he had, 'tis probable his Work had been ſooner done than it was.

But pray let us examine Abroad, if *the Purſe has not Governed all the Wars of* Europe. The *Spaniards* were once

once the most powerful People in *Europe*; their Infantry were in the Days of the Prince of *Parma*, the most Invincible Troops in the World. The *Dutch*, who were then his Subjects, and on whom he had levied Immense Sums of Money, had the 10th Penny demanded of them, and the demand back'd by a great Army of these very *Spaniards*, which among many other Reasons caused them to Revolt. The Duke *D'Alva* afterwards attempted for his Master to raise this Tax by his Army, by which he lost the whole *Netherlands*, who are now the richest People in the World; and the *Spaniard* is now become the meanest and most despicable People in *Europe*, and that only because they are the Poorest.

The present War is another Instance, which having lasted eight Years, is at last brought to this Conclusion. *That he who had the longest Sword has yielded to them who had the longest Purse.*

The late King *Charles* the First, is another most lively Instance of this Matter, to what lamentable Shifts did he drive himself? And how many despicable Steps did he take, rather than call a Parliament, which he hated to think of. And yet, tho' he had an Army on Foot, he was forced to do it, *or starve all his Men*; had it been to be done, he would have done it. 'Tis true, 'twas said the Earl of *Strafford* propos'd a Scheme, *to bring over an Army out of* Ireland, *to force* England *to his Terms*; but the Experiment was thought too desperate to be attempted, and the very Project ruin'd the Projector; such an ill Fate attends every Contrivance against the Parliament of *England*.

But I think I need go no further on that Head. The Power of Raising Money is wholly in the Parliament, as a Ballance to the Power of raising Men, which is in the King; and all the Reply I can meet with is, *That this Ballance signifies nothing, for an Army can Raise Money, as well as Money Raise an Army*; *to which I answer*, besides what has been said already; *I do not think it practicable in* England: The greatest Armies in the Hands of the greatest Tyrants we ever had in *England*, never

durſt attempt it. We find ſeveral Kings in *England* have attempted to Raiſe Money without a Parliament, and have tried all the means they could to bring it to paſs; and they need not go back to *Richard* the Second, to *Edward* the Second, to *Edward* the Fourth, to *Henry* the Eighth, or to *Charles* the Firſt, to remind the Reader of what all Men who know any thing of Hiſtory are acquainted with: But not a King ever yet attempted to Raiſe Money, by Military Execution, or Billetting Soldiers upon the Country. King *James* the Second had the greateſt Army, and the Beſt, as to Diſcipline that any King ever had; *and his deſperate Attempts on our Liberties ſhow'd his good Will*, yet he never came to that Point. I won't deny, but that our Kings have been willing to have Armies at Hand, to back them in their Arbitrary Proceedings, and the Subjects may have been aw'd by them from a more early Reſentment; but muſt obſerve, that all the Invaſion of our Rights, and all the Arbitrary Methods of our Governors, has been under pretences of Law. King *Charles* the Firſt Levy'd Ship-Money as his due, and the Proclamations for that purpoſe cite the pretended Law, that in Caſe of Danger from a Foreign Enemy, Ships ſhould be fitted out to defend us, and all Men were bound to Contribute to the Charge, *Coat* and *Conduct Money* had the like Pretences; Charters were ſubverted by *Quo Warrantoes*, and proceedings at Law; Patriots were Murther'd under Formal Proſecutions, and all was pretended to be done legally.

I know but one Inſtance in all our *Engliſh* Story, where the Soldiery were employ'd as Soldiers in open Defiance of Law, to deſtroy the Peoples Liberties by a Military Abſolute Power, and that ſtands as an Everlaſting Brand of Infamy upon our Militia; and is an Inſtance to prove beyond the Power of a Reply, *That even our Militia under a bad Government, let them be our ſelves, and the People, and all thoſe fine Things never ſo much* are under ill Officers, and ill Management, *as dangerous as*

any

any Soldiery whatever, will be as Insolent, and do the Drudgery of a Tyrant as effectually.

In the Year 1682. when Mr. *Dubois*, and Mr. *Papillion*, a Member of the Present Parliament, were chosen Sheriffs of *London*, and Sir *John Moor*, under pretence of the Authority of the Chair, pretended to nominate one Sheriff himself, and leave the City to chuse but one, and confirm the Choice of the Mayor, the Citizens struggled for their Right, and stood firm to their Choice, and several Adjournments were made to bring over the Majority of the Livery, but in vain; At length the Day came when the Sheriffs were to be sworn, and when the Livery-men assembled at *Guild-hall* to swear their Sheriffs, they found the Hall Garrison'd with a Company of Trained-Bands under Lieutenant-Col. *Quiney*, a Citizen himself, and most of the Soldiers, Citizens and Inhabitants; and by this Force the Ancient Livery-men were shut out, and several of them thrown down, and insolently used, and the Sheriffs thrust away from the Hustings, and who the Lord Mayor pleased was Sworn in an open Defiance of the Laws of the Kingdom, and Privileges of the City. *This was done by the Militia to their Everlasting Glory*, and I do not remember the like done by a Standing Army of Mercenaries, in this Age at least. Nor is a Military Tyranny practicable in *England*, if we consider the power the Laws have given to the Civil Magistrate, unless you at the same time imagine that Army large enough to subdue the whole *English* Nation at once, which if it can be effected by such an Army as the Parliament now seem enclined to permit, we are in a very mean Condition.

I know it may be objected here, that the Forces which were on Foot before 1680. are not the Army in Debate, and that the Design of the Court was to have a much greater Force.

I do not know that, but this I know, that *those Forces were an Army*, and the Design of all these Opponents of an Army is in so many Words, against *any Army at*

all, ſmall as well as great; a Tenet abſolutely deſtructive of the preſent Intereſt of *England*, and of the Treaties and Alliances made by His Majeſty with the Princes and States of *Europe*, who depend ſo much on his Aid in Guard of the preſent Peace.

The Power of making Peace or War is veſted in the King: 'Tis part of his Prerogative, but 'tis implicitly in the People, becauſe their Negative as to payment, does really Influence all thoſe Actions. Now, if when the King makes War, the Subject ſhould refuſe to aſſiſt him, the whole Nation would be ruin'd: Suppoſe in the Leagues and Confederacies His Preſent Majeſty is engag'd in for the Maintenance of the preſent Peace, all the Confederates are bound in caſe of a Breach to aſſiſt one another with ſo many Men, ſay ten thouſand for the *Engliſh* Quota, more or leſs, where ſhall they be found? *Muſt they ſtay till they are Rais'd?* To what purpoſe would it be then for any Confederate to depend upon *England* for Aſſiſtance?

It may be ſaid indeed, if you are ſo engag'd by Leagues or Treaties, you may hire Foreign Troops to aſſiſt till you can raiſe them. This Anſwer leads to ſeveral Things which would take up too much room here.

Foreign Troops require two Things to procure them; Time to Negotiate for them, which may not be to be ſpar'd, for they may be almoſt as ſoon rais'd; Time for their March from *Germany*, for there are none nearer to be hir'd, and Money to Hire them, which muſt be had by Parliament, or the King muſt have it ready: If by Parliament, that is a longer way ſtill; if without, that opens a worſe Gate to Slavery than t'other: For if a King have Money, he can raiſe Men, or hire Men when he will; and you are in as much danger then, and more than you can be in now from a Standing Army: So that ſince giving Money is the ſame thing as giving Men, as it appear'd in the late K. *James*'s Reign, both muſt be prevented, or both may be allow'd.

But the Parliament we ſee needs no Inſtructions in this Matter, and therefore are providing to reduce the

Forces

Forces to the same *Quota* they were in before 1680, by which means all the fear of Invading our Liberties will be at an end, the Army being so very small that 'tis impossible, and yet the King will have always a Force at Hand to assist his Neighbours, or defend himself till more can be Raised. The Forces before 1680 were an Army, and if they were an Army by Consent of Parliament, they were a Legal Army; and if they were Legal, then they were not Inconsistent with a *Free Government*, &c. for nothing can be Inconsistent with a *Free Government*, which is done according to the Laws of that Government: And if a *Standing Army* has been in *England* Legally, then I have proved, *That a Standing Army is not Inconsistent with a Free Government*, &c.

The Danger of the *Protestant Religion*, from the present Prospect of a Religious War in *Europe*.

To the KING.

SIR,

'TIS *not the meanest of Your Trophies, and of which Mankind speaks in Your Praise, that both Your Majesty and Your Ancestors have always been the Champions of Liberty, and the Great Defenders and Protectors of the* Protestant Religion.

As such this whole Nation made their Addresses to You, when they stood in need of a Deliverer from their Encroachments of Popish *Powers and Councils.*

As such, they receiv'd Your Majesty in the room of those who chose rather to desert them, than to see them a Free Protestant People; *and as such, they committed to Your Majesty's Government and* Protection, *the* Safety *of their Religion and Liberties, which by Your Assistance they had recovered from the Invasions of* Popery; *and as such, the Author of these* Sheets *humbly Addresses them to Your Majesty.*

The Protestant Religion *seems to stretch forth her Hands to Your Majesty, as to her Constant* Protector; *You may view her in a posture of Trembling at the* Formidable Prospect *of her encreasing Enemies, and pointing to the Confederacies that are making against her.*

Providence, *and the Crown You wear, claims Your Majesty's Concern for the Defence of Religion.*

The Peace *of* Europe; *the Preservation of Trade; the Leagues and Alliances made by Reasons of* State, *and for Interests of Government, are Things of Consequence to Kings and Nations; and Your Majesty is justly concern'd about them.*

The Liberties of this Nation, the Property *of the* Subject, *the Encrease of Manufactures, and the Maintenance of the* Poor, *are Things worthy of Debates in the Great Council of the Nation, the* Parliament.

But these are all Antecedent to the Great Relative Religion; *These are all but Circumstances to the Great Essential. Circles drawn about the Great Center* Religion.

Religion *is, or ought to be, the Great Concern of Kings and Nations; 'Tis for this Kings Reign, and* Parliaments *Assemble; Laws are Enacted; Trade is carried On; Manufactures are Improv'd; Men Born, and the World Made.*

Your Majesty is a proper Judge, whether the danger of Religion *in* Europe, *represented in these* Sheets, *be real, or not; and the* Author *freely* Appeals *to Your Majesty for the Truth of it.*

If it be real, God *and the* Protestant Religion *calls aloud on Your Majesty and the whole Nation; That laying aside the Debates of other meaner* Affairs, *the whole* Strength *and* Soul *of the Kingdom should be applied to, and concern'd about the Care and Preservation of that Inestimable Treasure.*

Nor

Nor may the Trifles of Property *or* Prerogative, *or any thing elſe, of how great Conſequence ſoever, have ſo much as room in the ſolemn Conſultations of the Nation, till this Great Affair is ſettled, and ſo ſecur'd, that the Power of* Popery *and* Superſtition *may be incapable to hurt it.*

We know that the Almighty Power, from whom all Human Strength is deriv'd, is able to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion ; *and that without either Your Majeſty, or Your Parliaments Aſſiſtance.*

But as he always works by Means and Inſtruments, and has always own'd Your Majeſty as an Inſtrument in his Hands for this Glorious Work; ſo Your Majeſty is humbly deſir'd to reflect, that it would be a ſingular Mark of Heaven's Diſpleaſure, if for want of a continued regard to the Security of that Religion *which God has entruſted Your Majeſty and this Nation with the* Protection *of, he ſhould be oblig'd to re-aſſume the Special and Immediate Care of it himſelf, and take the Work out of our Hands.*

The Danger of the Proteſtant Religion, *from the preſent Proſpect of a Religious War in* Europe.

UPON the preſent ſtrange Circumſtances of Affairs in *Europe*, occaſion'd by the Succeſſion of a Prince of *France* to the Crown of *Spain*, People are mightily concern'd, as their ſeveral Thoughts and Intereſts guide them.

Some, and reaſon good, apprehend *England* eſpecially will come under many Diſadvantages with reſpect to Trade, both in the *Straights* and in *America*, where the *French* will always have Aſſiſtance from the *Spaniſh* Power to encroach upon our Trade, have the Preference

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in their Ports and Markets; and several other things which I could enlarge on as well as another.

Some apprehend the Growth of the *French* Power at Sea, his Dangerous Neighbourhood, and his Encroaching Humour; which they give melancholy Instances of in all the late Wars, particularly in 1672; which 'tis needless here to repeat.

But I do not yet find any Concern expres'd, or any Danger fear'd for the Protestant Religion: Methinks 'tis too certain a Token the Care of it does not lie next our Hearts.

We are allarm'd at every step made by our Powerful Neighbours, to the detriment of our Politick Interest: We can see Dangers to our Trade and Shiping at the distance of an Age or two; form Leagues, whether right or wrong; commence Treaties, settle Alliances, and join in Confederacies and Guarranties, for the Preservation of the Ballance of Power and Trade.

But since Answering of Questions is become the Subject, and some are pleas'd to Answer them before they are ask'd, give a poor Pamphleteer (or Scribler, or any thing what you please to call him) leave to ask one Question.

Where is the League or Alliance in Europe, *made, or propos'd to be made for the Preservation and Defence of* Protestant Religion?

The Concern of *Religion* is not the meanest Article in the Peace of *Europe*.

I am not going to Preach a Lecture of Divinity, to shew the Value of Religion, and how near the Thoughts of it ought to lye upon our Minds; I would have so much Charity, as to believe every *English* Protestant has a just Concern for the Prosperity, as well as the Security of his Religion.

But possibly every Man that does value his Religion may not be sensible of the Danger it is in; and therefore it may not be amiss to examine the State of the Protestant Religion, as it now stands in *Europe*; with respect

reſpect to its own Power, and the Power of its Enemies.

In order to which Scrutiny, 'tis neceſſary to go back a little to the Original of the preſent Settlement on which we ſtand.

The Proteſtant Religion has been profeſs'd in almoſt all the Dominions of *Europe*, *Spain* and *Italy* excepted, and in moſt of thoſe Countries where it has obtain'd on the Inhabitants, it has been Eſtabliſh'd by Leagues and Treaties; which Eſtabliſhments have generally been the Effect of bloody Wars; the Liberty the Proteſtants enjoy, has, next to God's Goodneſs, been the Purchaſe of the Sword, at the Price of the Blood and Treaſure of the People.

For the better underſtanding the preſent Condition of the Proteſtants in *Europe*, I ſhall divide them into ſeveral Heads of Nations, and Diſcourſe of them apart, bringing their ſhort Hiſtory down to the preſent Time.

Firſt, *the Princes of Germany*: I place them firſt, becauſe they were the firſt that ſtood up for the Defence of Religion; the Chief of theſe are the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, the Dukes of *Brandenburgh*, *Saxony*, and *Lunenburgh*, *Hanover*, *Heſs Caſſel*, *Zell*, with a multitude of ſmaller Princes, States and Cities.

Theſe maintain'd a long and bloody War with the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, who reduc'd them to low Circumſtances; but by the Aſſiſtance of *Henry* the Second King of *France*, their Religion receiv'd the firſt Security by Treaty at the Peace of *Paſſau*, in the Year 1525, and was afterwards Eſtabliſh'd at the Diet at *Augsburgh Anno* 1555. But in the Year 1618, the War was renew'd again by the Emperor *Ferdinand* the Second, who by the Hand of his old General *Tilly* brought the whole Proteſtant Intereſt in *Germany* to the Brink of Ruin.

The *Bohemians* were ruin'd at the Battle of *Prague*; the Palatinate given to the Duke of *Bavaria*; the Circle of the Lower *Saxony* over-run by *Tilly*; and the King of *Denmark*, who headed the Proteſtants, overthrown

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at the Battel of *Kings-Lutter*, the Dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, *Pomeren*, Bishopricks of *Bremen* and *Halberstadt*; the Countries of *Slesia*, *Lusatia*, and innumerable others seized, and in the Emperor's Possession, and the Victorious *Tilly* trampled down Religion, with the Fury of a true Son of *Rome*.

The Protestants in this Distress, as we did lately here in a like Case, fly to a Neighbouring Prince for Protection. *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, a King who perhaps never had a Parallel till now, came to their Assistance with only Twelve Thousand Men; he Landed at *Straelsundt*; took all the Dutchies of *Pomeren* and *Mecklenburgh*; secur'd the Duke of *Brandenburgh*'s Country, and enters *Saxony* just as *Tilly* had resolv'd to ruin it: *Tilly* meets him with an Army of Fourty four Thousand old Soldiers, is overthrown, and his Troops entirely ruin'd at the Battel of *Leipsick*.—— God, whose Instrument this Gallant King more particularly was, carryed him on with such a Prodigious Course of Victory, that in two Years he overrun two third parts of the Empire; settled all the Protestant Princes free and uninterrupted in the Possession of their Liberties and Religion.

And though he lost his Life at the famous Battle of *Lutzen*, though his Party was afterwards basely forsaken by the Duke of *Saxony*, who had been twice sav'd from Ruin by them; though the *Swedes* were routed at the Battle of *Nordlengen*, yet they carried the War on with Success, 'till they reduc'd the Emperor to demand a Peace, in which the Liberty and Religion of *Germany* was entirely setled on the Foot whereon it now stands. This is that famous Treaty of *Westphalia*, made in the Year 1648, and which the *Protestants* of the *Palatinate* now complain is broken; by this Peace care was taken, as it should be in all Leagues, of Religion first, and of Property afterward; the Liberty of the *Protestant Religion* in *Germany* has its being here, and the King of *France* and *Sweden* are Guarrantees of the Treaty.

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The next general Clause of *Protestants* in my account shall be the *Hugonots* of *France*; these had long struggled with faithless Kings, had vigorously supported themselves in Eight Civil Wars, under the conduct of *Gaspar Coligni* Admiral of *France*, two Princes of *Condé*, and the King of *Navar*.

The little Honour the *Papists* shew'd them in their Treaties, and the many Surprizes and Massacres they met with when under the protection of the Publick Faith, kept the Sword always in their hand, till at last a Breach between *Hen.* the III. and the House of *Guise*, forced that Prince, though he had used them very ill before, to throw himself into their Hands for protection, but being stabb'd by *James Clement* a *Jacobine Fryar*, he fell a Sacrifice to the fury of the *Guises*, and the Crown devolv'd to the King of *Navar*, *Henry* the IV. the Head of the Protestants; which King, though he chang'd his Religion to secure the Crown, yet so far he took care of the Protestant Interest, as to secure them in the free exercise of their Religion by the famous *Edict of Nants*; which how it has been observ'd you shall hear presently.

The *Dutch* are the next in course. These being Subjects of the King of *Spain*, but having embrac'd the Protestant Religion, were most cruelly treated by the several Governors sent from the Court of *Madrid*; and as Oppression is the first Motive to Complaint, they made their frequent Application to the King of *Spain* for redress of their Grievances, who answer'd them as *Rehoboam* did the *Israelites*; and to make his Words good, sent them *Ferdinand de Toledo* Duke *D' Alva*, for their Governor, who boasted that he had Executed Eighteen thousand of them by the hand of the Hangman: Which bloody Proceeding, together with the Approach of the *Spanish* Inquisition, which he was resolv'd to introduce drove the People to the last Extremity, *viz.* To use Force in the Defence of their Natural Rights, Lives and Religion: A Doctrine, which however it may be cried down by our Modern Politicians, has obtain'd

upon

upon the whole World, and been more or less practi-sed by all Nations at one time or other.

This War begun by the Prince of *Orange*, the famous Predecessor of our present King was carried on with various success; and the Union of the Seven Provinces, which we now call the States of *Holland*, was form'd headed and protected by him, till he was murther'd by *Balthazar Gerrard*, at the procurement of the *Spaniards*, being shot with two Bullets through the body, as he was going from Dinner into a Withdrawing Room in his Palace at *Delft*.

His Successor Prince *Maurice* carried on the War with better success for almost Forty Years, and at last reduced the *Spanish* Power so low, that they rather sued for Peace than granted it; which Peace was the known Treaty of *Munster*; at which the *Spaniard* renounc'd the Sovereignty of the United Provinces, and declar'd them a Free State as they are this day.

England, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* is another Class: The Reformation obtain'd here with less difficulty, and has continued from the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*, without such Opposition and Interruption as it met with abroad.

Let us now consider these Four Classes, under One General Head of Confederacy, as they were engaged in the late War, and we shall presently put the whole in the general Ballance, by which the meanest Understanding may make a judgment what is like to be the Condition of the *Protestant* Interest in *Europe*.

Almost all the *Protestants* of *Europe*, the Two *Northern* Crowns who stood neuter excepted, were unanimously confederated in the last War against the Power of *France*; and though the Emperor and *Spaniard*, guided by Reasons of State, join'd with them, 'tis plain to all the World what difficulty the Confederates had, what Blood, what Treasure was expended to reduce the *French* to the Terms of an Honourable Peace.

If we re-examine the Present State of *Europe*, we shall find it, as to the Interest of Religion, in worse Circumstances

ſtances on ſeveral Accounts, than it ever yet was ſince the Treaties of *Munſter* and *Weſtphalia*.

Firſt, The *Saxon*, one of the moſt Conſiderable Princes of *Germany*, and formerly the great Barrier of the *Proteſtant* Religion on that ſide, is to be counted loſt, their Duke turn'd *Papiſt* to get a Crown hardly worth keeping; a cloſe Confederate with the Emperor, and dependant upon him for his ſupport in his new gotten Kingdom.

The Electorate, though it remains *Proteſtant*, is begg'ar'd and exhauſted to maintain their Prince in his New Throne; their Forces abſent, and which is worſe, already employ'd in an Unjuſt and Diſhonourable War with a *Proteſtant* Prince, in defiance of Leagues unbroken, and begun on frivolous pitiful Pretences, and like to be carried on to the ruin of its Author.

The Palatinate, another *Proteſtant* Electorate, by the Succeſſion of the Houſe of *Newburgh* is fallen into the Hands of the *Papiſts*, and now in the Power of a Prince, who in confidence of a ſupport from the Emperor his Brother-in-Law, is making the firſt open Infractions into the Treaty of *Weſtphalia*, and perſecutes his *Proteſtant* Subjects with all the rigor and cruelty of a Bigotted Prince, who thinks he thereby does God good ſervice, and expects to be well paid for it.

The *Proteſtants* of *Bohemia* and *Hungary* are both remote, and both abſolutely cruſh'd under the weight of the Imperial Rigor.

The *Proteſtants* of *France*, who I rank'd in the ſecond Claſs, and were once a powerful Branch, are quite loſt, ſunk and gone; either ſuppreſt and driven to *Popery* at home, in defiance of the *Edict* of *Nants*; or like the Ten Tribes of *Iſrael*, ſcatter'd abroad into ſo many unknown Countreys, that they have loſt themſelves, and in one Age more will be quite ſunk out of Name and Memory.

England was at the Brink of Ruin, and the Foundation of the *Proteſtant* Religion ſtood abſolutely undermin'd, the Devil like *Guy Fauks* in the Gunpowder-

Plot ſtanding with the Dark Lanthorn and Match in his Hand, till the people took ſuch a Fright, as put the Nation into Fits, of which they could never be cur'd till they had ſpewed out that Generation of Vipers that would have betrayed their Religion to the *Pope*, and their Country to the *French*.

God and the Prince of *Orange*, the one as Author, the other as Inſtrument, help'd us out; and I ſay without flattery, No Man can have a Senſe of the Goodneſs of the Firſt, and have no Gratitude for the Good-will of the Laſt: And 'tis a juſt Cauſe of Wonder to conſider what ſort of Proteſtants they are, who have forgot the condition the Proteſtant Religion was in at the firſt coming over of our preſent King, and I would be glad to hear a *Jacobite Proteſtant* if ſuch a Heterogeneous thing can be, anſwer me this Queſtion,

How any *Engliſh Proteſtant*, without mortgaging his Senſes and Religion, can ſo much as wiſh either that King *James* ſhould have continued King, or ſhould return to be King in the ſame Temper, Power, and other Circumſtances as he was in when his preſent Majeſty was invited over?

Thus we ſee ſeveral conſiderable Branches of the Proteſtant Power quite Loſt.

The *Swede*, who is one of the moſt Potent Princes in *Europe*, in the part of the World where he is particularly uſeful, we find his Hands full with two faithleſs Neighbours, and the flame of a VVar broke out, which if he be not timely aſſiſted, may burn him out of *Germany*.

He is a young King, though by what appears, likely to come behind none of his moſt Glorious Anceſtors; and we have ſeen one Snare laid for him already, which if the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had not untied, would have entangl'd him ſufficiently; however, as he is, there can but ſmall help be obtain'd from him, for the general ſafety of the Proteſtant Religion, who is now ſuing at the Courts of his Allies for Aid againſt the *Pole* and the *Muſcovite*.

It

It were to be wish'd the Protestants of *England* would agree to give such speedy and powerful assistance to the *Swede* in this juncture as may effectually free him from both his Assailants, and put him into a posture to enter into a general Alliance for the defence of Religion, if there should be occasion.

There are some other Circumstances which weaken the Protestant Interest; and that is the Temper of the *Danes*, whose King seems Disobliged in the highest manner against the *English*, *Dutch*, and *Swedes*; and some have said, how true I don't determine, not very zealous for the Protestant Religion ——— At least, no great matters are to be relied on from him, in case such a VVar should break out, unless you will suppose him to be first thoroughly reconciled to those three forementioned Powers.

VVhether the Business of making the Elector of *Brandenburgh* King of *Prussia*, and the Duke of *Hannover* Elector of *Brunswick*, may not cool the Zeal of those Princes, in favour of the Emperor, I shall not determine.

Upon the whole it appears, that the whole strength of the Protestant Power in *Europe*, lies now upon the *English* and *Dutch*, and the *German* Princes in the Circles of *Suabia*, and the Lower *Saxony*.

I shall next examine the growth and power of *Popery*, which plac'd in a just Balance with the rest, will need but a short Inference to shew any rational Man the disproportion of Power that lies between them.

The Popish Powers of *Europe* are as follow.

The *French*; a whole and entire Monarchy, undivided at home, and free from the incumbrance of *Protestants* among them, who had several times in former VVars either byas'd their Power in favour of the *Protestants*, as in the Reign of *Henry* the II. or diverted their Designs by Civil VVars at home, as in the Days of *Lewis* the XIII. But the present King of *France* having not broken the *Edict of Nants* only, but abolished it, has entirely broke the Body of the *Hugonot* Party, and rooted the very name of it out of his Kingdom; so that the *French* Power be-

ing altogether *Popish*, and united under the greatest King *France* ever saw, may justly stand foremost as the First Champion of *Popery* in *Europe*.

I shall not enlarge here on the formidable Power of *France*, how he has shewn himself a Match for the greatest part of *Europe*; nor upon the zeal and fiery rage of the *French* King against the *Protestant* Religion; they are things so known in *Europe*, that it is needless to add any thing to our Apprehensions that way. Let the *French Protestants*, who are scatter'd over the Face of all *Christendom*, be a daily Memorandum to us on that Head.

The Emperor, though he be the first Prince in *Europe*, I place next to the *French*, because I think him something inferiour in power to *France*, at this time especially, in the Circumstances we now are treating of, disjointed from the *Protestant* part of the Empire.

By the Emperor here we are to understand the Emperor and the *Popish* part of the Empire, which may thus be enumerated.

The Emperor, the King of *Hungary*, and *Bohemia*, the Elector Duke of *Bavaria*, a warlike and powerful Prince and always a Champion of *Popery*; the Elector *Palatine*, the Electors of *Mentz*, *Trier* and *Cologn*, with the Bishop of *Munster*, and some small *Popish* Princes of the Empire.

The Third Head of Power on the *Popish* side is the *Spaniards*, under which Name I comprehend all the Princes and Powers of *Italy*, with the *Pope* the Grand Image of Antichrist, the Duke of *Savoy*, the King of *Portugal*, and the Provinces of *Flanders*.

I have purposely omitted here the *Swiss* and *Grisons*, because being some *Popish*, some *Protestant*, and lying out of the way, they can neither add nor diminish in the case in hand, but will be hired on both sides, as the Parties find occasion for them, or can spare Money to pay for them.

It might seem needless to make any Remarks here on the Powers on one side and the other; those who are acquainted

acquainted but in a tolerable measure with the present State of *Europe*, must be convinc'd of this just consequence, That there is no manner of Comparison to be made.

But since our Saviour directs those who go out to War, to consider whether they are able with their 10000 to Encounter the 20000 of their Enemies, let us recollect the Debate, and consider the Case, if it were now coming to a War.

I'll allow that the *Protestants* on every side were firmly leagu'd together by their own Interest for their general preservation; and that all private Divisions, petty Disputes and Quarrels among themselves were at least laid aside for the present, till the Common Danger was over; which if it be not true, I wish it were.

I must suppose also that which I think there is too much reason to fear, that the *Popish* Powers before mention'd, whether ally'd or no, should join in a common Design to suppress their *Protestant* Neighbours; and whether jointly or separately it matters not much, shou'd fall upon those which lay next them.

Having rang'd the Powers of either Party, 'tis necessary to declare the posture of such a War, in case it should ever come to pass.

If ever the *Popish* Powers of *Europe* should enter into a Confederacy to attack the *Protestants*, it would be thus.

The *Dutch* would be fallen upon by the *French* on one side; and the *Spanish* Netherlands being in the hands of the *Papists*, the Barrier of *Flanders* is lost, by which means the War is brought home to their own Doors, and the first Shock must fall on their Frontiers, where they must defend themselves against the *Spaniards* on the side of *Sluice*, *Bergen Op Zoom*, *Breda*, and the *Bosch*, against the *French* on the *Maes* and the *Rhine*, from *Maestricht* to *Nimiguen*, and against the *Munsterians* on the Frontiers of *Groninghen* to the side of *Embden* and the Sea.

Nor wou'd their Fleet ſtand them in any ſtead, the War wou'd be all by Land: They muſt maintain Three Royal Armies at leaſt to keep the Field, or their Enemies will break into their Country, and make them maintain both Armies in a place.

The *Dutch* are not inſenſible of the Truth of this, as may be plainly prov'd by the Care and vaſt Expence they have been at to protect *Flanders* in all the laſt War; from which all the benefit they have propos'd to themſelves, has been the maintaining a good Barrier between Them and *France*, and thereby keeping the War from their own Country.

The *German* War will, in all probability, be on the Banks of the *Elb*, the *Oder*, and the *Main*: The Proteſtant Countries lie from the *Oder* to the *Rhine*, and contain the whole Circles of the Upper and the Lower *Saxony*, and a ſmall part of the Circles of *Weſtphalia*, *Franconia* and *Suabia*.

But the Weight of the War on the Proteſtants muſt lie on the *Elb* and the *Main*: On the *Elb* the *Imperialiſts* will have their main Forces to Attack the Dukes of *Brandenburg* and the Princes of the Houſe of *Lunenburg*; and on the *Main*, the *Heſſian*, with the Princes of the Lower *Saxony*, will be Attack'd by the Duke of *Bavaria*, the Prince *Palatine*, and the Electors of *Treves*, *Mentz*, and *Cologn*; backt ſtill by the Emperor, the *French* and the *Spaniards*.

The *Swedes* and *Brandenburghers* will again have the Emperor on their backs upon the *Oder*, with the *Poles* to aſſiſt him.

Here, if ever ſuch a Time ſhall happen, the VVar will be very bloody; and were not the *French* to join on the Banks of the *Main*, perhaps the Emperor might have his hands full: But a *French* Army to fall in among the Princes of the Circles of *Franconia* and *Weſtphalia*, is an Article not to be conſiderd'd without giving up the Cauſe; *Nothing but the Angel of God in the Army of* Senacherib, *can prevent their Total Deſtruction.*

I foreſee I ſhall be atackt by a ſort of Men, who are

Carrying

Carrying on Designs of their own, and think every Man aims at them with Arguments like these.

1. This is Discovering the Weakness of the Protestants, and leading their Enemies by the hand to destroy them; betraying our Friends, or exposing them. Or,

2. This is frightning the World with Chimera's of our own Brain, which perhaps may never come to pass. Dangers as likely, as that the *Turks* may Over-run *Christendom*, and Extirprate the whole Christian Religion: Things to come to pass, *when the Sky shall fall.*

3. This is another Shift to bring *England* to a Necessity of a Standing-Army, which some People mightily want, to subject her Liberty to the Arbitrary Designs of her Enemies.

For the First I answer: 'Tis no Discovery at all; and they that will make such an Objection, must suppose the Popish Princes of *Europe* very dull, if they do not know it as well as we.

But to make my Answer as short as the Question: They who please to inform themselves, will find that in the several Audiences of the *French* Ambassadors at *Rome*, his Holiness gave the most Christian King several Exhortations to restore Peace to the Church; which we find explain'd at *Paris* in the Speeches made to the King of *France* by the Pope's Nuncio, where he Exhorts him again to Peace with the *Spaniards*, that their United Arms might be employ'd *in the Extirpation of Heresie.*

If I should need Arguments to convince Men, that the *French* know as well as we the Power of the Protestant Princes, I could refer them to a late *French* Pamphlet, printed at *Paris*, and Reprinted at *Rome*, Entituled *La Crusade*, which laments the Catholick Princes tearing out the Bowels of their Mother the Church; and Exhorts them very passionately to employ their Victorious Arms to the Extirpation of Heresie, and the De-

ſtruction of the Enemies of God, and the Bleſſed Virgin.

2. As to the Improbability of the matter, and its being a Chimera, *&c.*

Firſt, Gentlemen, it is no ſuch improbable thing neither; for *what has been, may be.* *Charles* the Fifth undertook it ſingle-handed againſt all the Proteſtants in his time; and though the *French* oppoſed him, he went a great Way with the Work; for he reduc'd them to ſuch low Terms, that had not the Treaty at *Paſſau* been obtain'd by the Power of *France*, the Proteſtant Religion had been totally ſuppreſs'd in *Germany*.

Secondly, The *French* have abſolutely Effected it upon one of the moſt Conſiderable Branches of Proteſtants, and thereby ſhown us a Teſt of their Good will to the whole, and given an Inſtance of the poſſibility of the practice.

Thirdly, The Proteſtant Power was never in weaker Circumſtances, nor the Popiſh in ſtronger, if they ſhould but Unite: So that I muſt own, if they do not attempt it, they ſlip a manifeſt Opportunity, and muſt be counted Fools too; which by the way, we never found them to be.

3. As to *England*, Standing-Armies, Liberty, Arbitrary Power, and the like, I muſt crave leave to ſay a little. I have no mind to meddle with the Diſputes of Politicians, nor know nothing of thoſe who have Deſigns either way.

They that would Enſlave our Liberty by Standing-Armies; and they that would leave us naked to our Enemies, or put us out of a Poſture to help our Friends, are equally Enemies to the Proteſtant Religion.

They that would make our Kings out of Love with their Proteſtant Subjects, or our People jealous of a Proteſtant King, are *Beautefeus* of their Native Country, and want to ſee her again involv'd in Blood, that ſhe may not be able to protect or defend the Proteſtant Religion.

They

They who would advance the Prerogative of Kings to the ruin of the Subjects Properties; and they who would subdue the *Engliſh* Monarchy, and the Juſt Power of the King to the Will and Pleaſure of a Party, equally drive at the Deſtruction of our Conſtitution, and in that of the Proteſtant Religion.

'Tis not Arbitrary Power which is the preſent Caſe, nor Standing-Armies, nor Liberty, nor Property, but the Proteſtant Religion. Let *England* have a care ſhe does not take ſo much Care of her Liberties, as to forget her Religion: But let us ſee the one done, as not to leave the other undone.

In Reading ſome late Pamphlets *Pro* and *Con* about the Danger of Trade, and the Power of our Enemies, I obſerve ſome are for maintaining Confederacies with Foreign States, and Alliances with Neighbours, and ſome are againſt it.

Truly, Gentlemen, in the Caſe I am Treating, I Rank all the Powers of *Europe* into two Claſſes only, *Papiſt* and *Proteſtant*: And we are ſuppoſing the Popiſh Powers ſhould link themſelves together in a Confederacy for the Extirpation of Proteſtants, whom they call *Hereticks*, let any Rational Man make the Conſequence: What ſhould Proteſtants do? Can any humane Methods preſerve them, but a ſtrict Union among themſelves to join in their mutual Defence?

I know better than to reflect on Parliaments: But if a Parliament of Proteſtants forgets the Safety of the Proteſtant Religion, they neglect the chief Work they aſſemble about.

Trade, Liberty, Property, Right and Wrong, Juſtice and Equity, are Things the convocated Aſſemblies of the People are call'd together about; and they are in the Right: But theſe are but the ſubſervient Preliminaries to preſerve a State or Country in Peace, that they may with their joint Force reſolve, and be able to defend and ſecure their Religion.

The Proteſtant Religion is the Fundamental of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution; and I hardly ever remember the

Aſſem-

Assembling a Parliament in *England*, but they had their Grand Committee for Religion. What those Committees have done of late towards the propagating or securing Religion, is best known to them who can search the Journals of the House, nor is it proper for me to examine.

I am not for prescribing Methods how the Protestant Religion is to be defended; but I crave leave to give some Hints from the present Circumstances of Affairs, to awaken Protestants, that they may see their Religion is aim'd at by the Popish Powers of *Europe*; a weak Politician may foresee, That if ever a Union should happen between the *French*, *Spaniards* and *Germans*, all the Protestants of *Europe*, except us, are lost and undone, unless some wonderful Revolution, which a wiser Head than mine cannot foretel, should happen.

Wherefore I desire only of Parliaments, of Protestants and Kings, that they would condescend so far, as to take the poor distressed Protestant Religion into their Care: *Let it be by such Ways and Means, as to their Honour in their Great Wisdom shall seem meet.* If it may be done without Standing-Armies, or Confederacies abroad, with all our Hearts: If the Walls of *Jericho* will fall down at the Sounding of Rams-horns, never let us raise Batteries, or plant Cannon against them.

Here is no room to talk of Pretences and Shooing-horns for Standing-Armies; God, and the Protestant Religion calls upon all the Professors of it in *Europe* to look to themselves, and to stand up *for the City of our God*: And if the Enemies of the Church of Christ say, *A Confederacy*, they are to give the Curse of God on all those who shall refuse *to help the Lord against the Mighty*.

In this Case a War of Religion will require us to lay aside all our ill-natur'd Animosities: Here is no Foreigners, no Refugees, no *Dutch*-men; 'Tis a *Protestant*, is the general Term; as in two Armies that are to Engage, where one Party wears a White, and the other a Green Signal in their Hats, they do not enquire what Nation

any

any Man is of; but if any of the White Party meets a Soldier with the Green in his Hat, *Down with him*; if they see another with the White in his Hat in Distress, *Relieve him* is *the word*.

In this Cause of Religion, Gentlemen, if the *Swede*, or the *Dane*, or the most remote Nation be Attackt, we are only to examine if the Protestant Religion be his Signal; if so, we ought to help and relieve them, let them be what Nation or People soever; and let Natural and Political Aversions be never so great, if our Enemy's House be on Fire, we'll endeavour to put it out, if it be for nothing else but for fear it should burn our own: When the Protestants in any part of *Europe* are Attackt, *Proximus Ardet*; let us consider, if ever the Fire of Popery consumes the Protestant Powers of *Europe*, the Flame will certainly catch hold of us in *England*.

Some Gentlemen have said lately, That Confederacies and Alliances never are of any Advantage to *England*, because we live by our selves in an Island, and have a good Fleet.

I shall not examine whether what they say will hold in Matters of Policy and Government: But, Gentlemen, let me tell you, if the *English* Nation should see the Rest of the Protestants of *Europe* destroy'd, without helping them, even with all her Forces upon this principle, That we are safe having a good Fleet; should we not expect besides all the other fatal ill Consequences, our Saviour should rank us among those, who *when he was an hungry, gave him no meat*; or, when he was in Distress gave him no help, *which is all one*.

But because I would a little prescribe in the Case too, and come to Answering Questions as well as other People, I shall enquire, What *England* ought to do?

I Answer, *Principiis obsta*; prevent the Conjunction of Popish Powers; crush the Leagues and Confederacies of Popish Princes in the beginnings of them, and by all possible Methods keep them from such a Union as is here supposed to be aim'd at.

This

This is the way to take away the Cauſe, that the Effect may vaniſh: This takes away all ſhadow of deſigning a Standing-Army; there will be no Occaſion to Fight; divide but the Intereſts of the Popiſh Powers of *Europe*; if you can do ſo, you certainly divide their Forces.

The late War is a certain Demonſtration that they will never unite againſt Religion, if they cannot unite their Intereſts. Whoever gives themſelves leave to examine, will plainly ſee 'tis Intereſt, not Religion governs Princes. I refer for it to the Anſwer the Emperor gave to King *James* when he demanded Aſſiſtance of him againſt King *William*. When having told King *James*, "That if he had rather hearkened to his friendly Re- "monſtrances, made him by the Imperial Ambaſſador "the Count *de Kaunitz*, than the deceitful Inſinuations "of the *French*; and if he had put a ſtop by Force to "the many Breaches made by the *French* in the Treaty "at *Nimeguen*, of which he was Guarrantee, and had "entred into Conſultations with the Imperial Court, "and their Confederates, he might have quieted the "Minds of his People; and then enumerating the Cruelties of the *French*, chiefly in the Catholick Countries, exceeding the *Turks* themſelves; the Emperor concludes, "That the Intereſt and Safety of the Empire "is a ſufficient Argument to juſtifie his not aſſiſting him "on account of the *Popiſh* Religion againſt the *Proteſtants*, "having a *Papiſt* to Encounter with, who on account "of Intereſt and publick Safety, ought in the firſt Place "to be oppoſed; and that for mutual Preſervation "and Defence he muſt be juſtified in taking Meaſures, "with all thoſe, meaning the *Proteſtants*, who are con- "cern'd in the ſame Deſign.

Thus we ſee when joint Intereſt and Preſervation is the Caſe, even the *Popiſh* Princes themſelves think it juſtifiable to join in Confederacies, even with *Heretick*, to ſuppreſs an unjuſt Invaſion of an encroaching Neighbour, though a Catholick.

From

From whence I draw this ſhort Conſequence.

That if you keep the *Popiſh* Powers of *Europe* from Uniting their Intereſts, you in effect, keep them from Uniting their Forces, and thereby from Invading the Proteſtant Religion.

By preventing the Union of the *Popiſh* Powers, poſſibly ſome may ſuppoſe, I mean, that *England* ſhould Engage in a New War with *France*, to ſupport the Title of the Arch-Duke *Charles* to the Crown of *Spain*; and there comes in the Old Story, a Standing-Army, again by Head and Shoulders.

Why truly, Gentlemen, If ever we pretend to have a War, whether it be with *France*, or any Body elſe, we muſt certainly have an Army of our own, or ſome Bodies elſe, or we ſhall make but ſorry Work on't.

Whether thoſe Gentlemen would not chuſe to ſee the Proteſtant Religion in *Europe* ſunk and loſt, rather than ſee an Army raiſed in *England*, I cannot conclude? But this I am bold to affirm, That they who had rather run the Riſque of the Proteſtant Religion, than of their Liberties, value their Freedom above their Religion, and may very well be ſuſpected to have no Religion at all.

Now the Riſque is not equal neither; for we have had Armies in *England*, and have loſt our Liberties; and we have had Armies in *England*, and have not loſt our Liberties. The Difference lies here, That we had Armies rais'd to Enſlave us, and they did it; but the laſt were raiſed to defend us; and when that was done, ſubmitted the Military to the Civil Power, and left our Liberties intire. I would ſay alſo, but that I ſhall offend ſome Folks, That the grand Difference lay in the Kings we had.

Some of our Kings deſign'd our ruin, and in a great Meaſure compleated it by Standing-Armies; but a King that protects the Laws by a principle of Honour and Juſtice, can make Armies that are ſo fatal to Liberty, be the protection of Liberty: So that really it has been our Kings *of pious Memory*, who have been Agents of the

the People's Ruin; and the late War has shown the World, that Armies may be rais'd and laid down again, if Kings, who command them, please but to say the Word, without ruining a Nation's Liberties.

On the other Hand; if Religion be attackt, it must be defended, or 'twill be lost.

Thus far I have ventur'd to touch the nice Article of an Army in *England*; I hope every *Englishman* will agree with me in this, That I had rather see an Army in *England*, and run the hazard of our Liberties, than see the *Protestant* Religion in *Europe* trodden down for want of our helping to defend it.

But these are general Points only.

There are a great many Methods to be prescrib'd how the *Protestant* Religion may be defended, and yet no standing Forces raised or maintain'd in *England*, and so our Liberties may not be in danger; and the first is touch'd at already, prevent the Union of *Popish* Powers and Interest, and you'll need no fighting.

Whether this may be done by giving powerful Assistances to the Emperor, to carry on the Pretentions of the House of *Austria*; or by appearing in the *Mediterranean* with a good Fleet, to confirm the *Italian* Princes in the Interests of the Emperor; or by sending over what Forces we have in *England* and *Ireland*, to make a Diversion, in Conjunction with the *Dutch* on the *Rhine*, or in *Flanders*, or by what other Ways or Means it may be done, with or without an Army, 'tis all one, so it be but done, that the *Protestant* Religion may be protected, and the *Papists* prevented from overturning us with a general Destruction.

But that no Man may have any shadow to suspect me guilty of a Design to Argue for a Standing-Army, which is *the great Bugbear of the Times*, or at least made the *Watch-word of a Party* that would be thought to me more Zealous for our Liberty than any Body else; I'll put it on another Point: Our Neighbours may be so assisted by our Money, as never to want our Men; and so, Gentlemen, you will be try'd whether 'tis your

Liberty

Liberty, or your Money, that so much stir has been made about; and if we shall let our Protestant Neighbours sink, rather than part with our Money to support them; then the Truth will come out, *That 'tis our Money which was at the bottom of the matter:* For really, Religion and Liberty are so much in the same Interest, that 'tis very seldom they Clash; and he that shall refuse to defend his Religion for fear of his Liberty, deserves to lose both.

Thus we are got over the Point, that our Neighbours may be supported, the Protestant Religion defended, and the Union of the *Popish* Powers of *Europe* prevented by the *Protestants* at this time falling in, to support the Emperor in his just Pretensions on the *Spanish* Dominions; and all this without a Standing-Army in *England.*

Our Pamphleteers need not dispute about the Consistency or Inconsistency of an Army with the *English* Constitution, nor whether they that are for or against it are the best Subjects: I am sure he that has the greatest Concern for the Protestant Religion, is most likely to be the best Christian; They need not Entertain us with their Discourses of the Danger of our Liberties and Properties from a Standing-Army, with their little Reflections on the King, by way of Exclamations against the sad Consequences which may happen, or may not happen; They need not enter into the Histories of Standing-Armies, nor tell us the Wonderful Power of our most Formidable Militia: But the Case will be alter'd when your *Protestant* Brethren call for Assistance, if you are afraid to trust Arms in the Hands of your own Countrymen: As *truly* Englishmen *are dangerous Fellows when in Arms, very surly, and loth to be Disbanded without their Pay.* If therefore we do not think it safe to Trust our own People, never let us desert the *Protestant* Cause; for *Germany* and *Switzerland* are Inexhaustible Store-houses of Men: If you will but assist the *Protestants* with Money, 'twill be the same thing;

or

or if we assist the Emperor at this time, it may be the same thing; for Prevention is all one as Execution, or rather the better of the two.

And this leads us to consider what, with submission to better Judgments, seems to me to be the only possible Means to prevent the Union between the *Popish* Powers and *Europe*, and therein the Ruin of the *Protestants*.

I have said already, Our way is to Crush the Confederacies of the *Papists*; and if I do say, that the only way to do so, is to prevent the Crown of *Spain* descending by Will to a Prince of the House of *Bourbon*; and that Prince marrying a Daughter of the House of *Austria*, I shall believe I am in the Right, till I can hear a better Method propos'd.

This Union is much easier prevented than it will be dissolv'd; Treaties and Alliances may disappoint it. Now whereas Armies and Fleets will hardly defeat it afterward, if the House of *Bourbon* and *Austria* Unite, and conform the Interests of their Dominions, they can have no Body to bend their Arms against, but the *Protestants*, or the *Mahometans*.

I see no War can be rais'd in *Europe*, but what will of Course run into a War of Religion: For if the *Popish* Princes agree in Interests, they can have nothing to quarrel about: And to confirm this, I appeal to a Review of the general History of *Europe*: In which I offer to make it appear, That setting aside the Quarrels between the *French* and the *Spaniards*, and between the *English* and the *Dutch*, almost all the Wars of *Europe* have been Wars of Religion.

And that I may not be thought to speak without book, I refer the Reader to Examine.

1. The Wars in *Germany*, which, with some few Intermissions, lasted from the Year 1508, to 1648, being 140 Years; and begun on pretence of recovering the Lands of the Church, sequester'd by the Duke of *Saxony*, and ended by the Conquests of King *Gustavus* and his Generals, at the Treaty of *Westphalia*; in which

which War, that great Conquering King loſt his Life, and confirm'd what I am ſaying in his laſt Words, which ſome Hiſtories tells us were thus: Being wounded with a Carabin-ſhot, and ask'd by a *German* Trooper who he was, Anſwer'd, *I am the King of* Sweden, *who do Seal the Religion and Liberty of the* German *Nation with my Blood.*

2. The Wars in the *Low Countries* begun with the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition being Introduc'd into the *Netherlands*, and continued to the Peace of *Munſter*, with the intermiſſion of twelve Years Truce only, and ended in the Liberty of the Proteſtant States, being declar'd free by the King of *Spain*; which War *Philip* II. of *Spain* declar'd a little before his Death, had coſt him 564 Millions of Ducats, and the Expedition to Invade *England* 12 Milions.

3. The Civil Wars of *France*, which began in the Reign of *Henry* II. and eight ſeveral times engag'd the whole Kingdom; and after that was carryed on by *Henry* IV. againſt the *Guiſes*, and the League backt by the whole Power of *Spain*, on account of Religion, and never had any long Ceſſation till the Edict of *Nants* and the Peace of *Vervins*.

I forbear to inſtance any more, being unwilling to enter into the Miſeries of our Native Country; but I think the Matter admits of no diſpute. That if the Union we ſpeak of ſhould ever to come to paſs, there hardly can commence any War in *Europe* but what muſt be upon the account of Religion. *Europe* has really nothing elſe to quarrel about, or nothing but what Neighbours and Guarrantees can oblige one another to decide without a Rupture, as lately it was in the Caſe of the *Dane* and the Duke of *Holſtein*.

Religion is the only Diſpute left; What bloody Battels have been fought? How has *Europe* been fill'd with Slaughter between thoſe powerful Princes *Charles* V. and *Francis* I. for the Kingdom of *Naples*, for the Dutchy of *Savoy* and *Millan*, and for the Frontiers of *Burgundy* and *Flanders*!

What incredible Expences, and how many heaps of ſlaughter'd Carcaſſes has the Quarrels between the *French* and *Imperialiſts* coſt on the Banks of the *Rhine* and the *Moſelle*, and between the *French* and the *Spaniards* in our Age in *Catalonia* and *Flanders*? Theſe have been the Capital Wars of *Europe*; and if the Union between *France* and *Spain* be compleated, the Cauſe is remov'd, and the Effects ceaſe of Courſe: There can be no War in this part of the World but what muſt engage the Proteſtants, unleſs the Proteſtants ſhould fall out among themſelves; which would be worſe ſtill. Hitherto the Wars between the Popiſh Powers has been the Safety of the Proteſtant; if one potent Prince has Attack'd them, the Jealouſy of another has Defended them. The Proteſtants have from the very beginning been ſhelter'd and protected only by the Animoſities and Jealouſies maintain'd between the *French* and the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

I cannot liken the Proteſtants of *Europe* to any thing more aptly than to the City of *Hamburgh*, between the *Danes* and the Dukes of *Brandenburgh* and *Lunenburgh*; or to the Duke of *Savoy*'s Dominions, between the *Spaniards*, *French* and *Italians*.

If the City of *Hamburgh* had had but one of thoſe Neighbours, it had either been *no City at all*, or *their City* long ago; but the Jealouſy and Miſunderſtanding of thoſe Princes is the Security of the *Hamburgers*.

Either the *French* or the *Spaniards* had long ago annexed the Dutchy of *Savoy* to their Eſtates, had the one been but willing to ſit ſtill, and let the other enjoy it.

Charles V. had certainly ſubdued all the Proteſtants in the Empire, if *Henry* II. of *France* had not upheld them; and that not from any Kindneſs he had to them, but that he was not eaſie to ſee the Emperor be ſo Great. Afterward the Emperor himſelf encourag'd the Proteſtants of *France*, and ſuffer'd Men to be Levyed in the Empire for the King of *Navarr*; leſt he being quite ſuppreſs'd, the *French* ſhould be at leiſure to

Quarrel

Quarrel with him. Thus the Jealousies between the Powers of *France* and *Germany* have been the Security of the Protestant Religion in *Europe*.

Since that, in our Memory, the Emperor and King of *Spain*, both *Papists*, Declar'd War against *France*, and Form'd the Tripple Alliance only to save the Protestant States of *Holland* from falling into the Hands of the *French*, *Anno* 1672, when our Protestant King *Charles* II. of Pious Memory, did his utmost to overthrow them, and subject them to an absolute *French* Conquest.

If any Man shall be so weak as to reply in the Language of some late Pamphlets, *What's all this to us? What does the Union of* Spain *and* Germany, *or of any body else, signifie to us?* I crave leave to Answer such a Question, by saying as our Saviour to the *Pharisees*, *And I also will ask you a Question.*

What signifies the Protestant Religion to us? And if they will undertake to Answer the Last, I will promise to Answer the First.

I might go on here to give Instances how near the Protestant Religion has been to be suppress'd in *England*, and what a just Concern other Nations have always had for its Preservation.

But setting that aside, for we do not love to hear of it: I desire only to re-mind the Reader, That the Parliaments of *England*, together with our Protestant Kings and Queens, have always express'd deep Resentments at the danger of the Protestant Religion, and of our Protestant Neighbours; and have always thought it became them by Treaties and Intercessions to procure their Repose, or by Money and Forces to assist them to defend themselves.

And after giving some Instances, I shall examine the Reasons of it, and see if the same Reasons do not now call on us for the same Proceedings.

Queen *Elizabeth*, after she had provided for the Safety of Religion at Home, her next Care was to assist her Protestant Neighbours. What vast Sums of Mo-

ney did she Give and Lend; what Number of Troops did she Raise to support the *Hugonots* in *France*, and Prince *Maurice* in the *Netherlands*: Even before she had any actual War with the *Spaniard*? The Histories of those Times reckon up above 80000 *English* Soldiers, including Volunteers, that fought during that long War, in the Quarrel of the Protestant Religion in the *Low-Countries*; where they behav'd themselves so well, and gain'd such Reputation, that Forty Years afterwards, when our Civil Wars broke out in *England*, an Old *Low-Country* Soldier was always counted a Man of Value.

Queen *Elizabeth* sent at several times 40000 Men to the Assistance of the *French Hugonots*, under *Henry* the Fourth.

After the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James* the First, though he had not Courage enough to break with *Spain* in the just Quarrel of the *Palsgrave*, King of *Bohemia*; yet we find the *English* Nation and Parliament all along Resenting, not so much the Injury of that Family, as the Ruin of the Protestants in the *Palatinate*; and several Bodies of Men were sent over to Count *Mansfield* to defend it; though by the Craft of the *Spaniard* that *Scotish* King was Cajol'd into an easie deserting the Cause both of the Protestant Religion and his own Family.

In the Reign of King *Charles* the First, what vast Sums of Money were given by the Parliament to assist the Protestants of *Rochelle*; which though by the Misapplication of the Court and the Duke of *Buckingham*, did them little Service; yet 'tis plain by it, that the Parliament knew the Protection of our Protestant Neighbours was a Work the whole Nation had a just Concern in, both on Civil as well as Religious Accounts.

After this you have 6000 Men at a time twice raised, besides Recruits, and sent by Sea as far as *Pomerania* to assist the King of *Sweden* in the Quarrel of the Protestants in *Germany*.

In

In the Year 1679, the Parliament of *England* Addreſs'd King *Charles* the Second to enter into ſuch Leagues and Alliances with our Proteſtant Neighbours, as might effectually preſerve *Flanders* from falling into the Hands of the *French*; and I refer to the Words of that Addreſs, where you have the whole People of *England* Remonſtrating of what Conſequence the Preſervation of *Flanders* was to the *Engliſh* Nation; and which ſtands as an Invincible Argument againſt our Modern Politicians, who are for no Leagues nor Confederacies, nor Neighbours, and think *England* a Match for all the World.

Theſe ſeem to be Inſtances enough, and 'tis matter of Wonder to me, what ſort of Amphibious, Neutral Creatures thoſe Proteſtants are, which ſhall ask what ſignifies the Proteſtants abroad to *England*? Suppoſing there was no real Danger of our ſelves in the Caſe.

Let us examine, in the next place, the Reaſons which have all along induc'd the *Engliſh* Nation to aſſiſt their Proteſtant Neighbours; and they are of two ſorts.

Reaſons of Religion, and *Reaſons of State*: And I'll be very ſhort with them both, becauſe they are touch'd at already.

Reaſons of Religion, are ſuch as *Charity*, which obliges the Strong to Protect and Defend the Weak, when they are Oppreſs'd and Injur'd, and unable to defend themſelves: The ſeveral Commands of our Saviour, for the Relief of ſuch as are in Diſtreſs, Illuſtrated by the Story of the Good *Samaritan*, the Declaration which our Saviour has made, That *whatſoever is done to the leaſt of his, is done unto himſelf*, and ſhall be Rewarded accordingly, and the like.

Reaſons of State are principally the Great Doctrine of Self-preſervation, which branches it ſelf in ſuch Methods as theſe.

Keeping Danger at a diſtance.

Keeping a good Barrier between our ſelves and Powerful Neighbours, that you may not be forced to a Defenſive War.

Preventing the Union of Neighbours of different Intereſts from our ſelves.

2*dly*. Preſerving publick Peace, which is beſt done
By ſtrong Alliances and Guarrantees:
By keeping an Equality of Parties, or a General Ballance of Power:
And by being always in ſuch a poſture of Defence as to make it dangerous for a Neighbour to break with you.

Theſe, with many others, are the Reaſons why our Princes, and our Parliaments too, have always thought it both their Duty and their Intereſt to Protect and Defend the Proteſtant Religion abroad, and have always been very tender of the Injuries done them by the Popiſh Adverſaries, and reſented them accordingly.

I ſhall give one Inſtance more: *I hope the Reaſon of State will not be lik'd the worſe for the Stateſman*; and that was *Oliver Cromwell*; who being Sollicited by the Proteſtant *Vaudois* in *Savoy*, uſed all his Intereſt to Mediate with the Duke their Prince for a Relaxation of their Miſeries; and in his Letters both to the Duke and the *French* King, after a great deal of fruitleſs Interceſſion, threatens to turn all the *Roman Catholicks* out of *England* and *Ireland*, and ſeize their Effects, if ſome ſpeedy Regard be not had to the Afflictions of the Diſtreſſed Proteſtants. I refer the Reader for the Particulars, to the *Latin* Copies of the Letters wrote on that Subject by his Secretary of Foreign Diſpatches, the Learned *Milton*; in which there are Reaſons given why the *Engliſh* Nation ſhould think themſelves oblig'd to concern themſelves in the Sufferings of the Proteſtants.

But methinks it ſhould be needleſs to go any farther than the Journals of our own Parliaments ſince the Reſtoration; where it will evidently appear, that *Engliſh*

liſh Parliaments have always a deep Reſentment at the Growth of *Popery*, and the Danger of the Proteſtant Religion; and there is no doubt but an *Engliſh* Parliament will ever maintain the ſame Sentiments.

The Growth of *Popery* is certainly dangerous to the Proteſtant Religion; They are the two Buckets in the Well, the two Scales on the Beam of Power; if one comes up, the other muſt go down; if you add to the weight of one, it will lift the other out of its place.

Let all thoſe who would ſtand Neuter in this Cauſe of Religion remember, that God Almighty has declar'd againſt ſuch as are lukewarm Chriſtians: There is no Neuter Gender in Religion. In the Cauſe of Religion, They who are not for him are againſt him; the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion calls upon all Men who have any Value for it, to appear in the time of its Danger: Defend Religion and Politick Intereſts will be eaſily ſecur'd: *a jove Principium, God and your Country*; but firſt God, and then your Country.

In ſhort, though I am no Prophet, nor the Son of a Prophet, I think a Man, with but a ſmall Talent of Forcaſt, may be able to foretel, That if we are wanting to God in the due and vigorous defence of his Church and Worſhip, which is in *Engliſh*, the Proteſtant Religion; his Providence has ſo wiſely diſpoſed the matter, and made our Liberty ſo dependant on, and relative to our Religion, that it is morally impoſſible Liberty in *England* can be any longer liv'd than Religion. Popery and Slavery are like Sin and Death, direct Conſequences of one another, and whenever we think fit to admit the firſt, any body may promiſe us the laſt.

The CONCLUSION.

I Cannot conclude this Matter without remembring two Exceptions that lie againſt any body's pleading the Cauſe of Religion.

First, That in all the ill Practices of the World, the Revolutions of States, Rebellions of Subjects, and Tyranny of Princes, *Religion is the Mask* to hide the Deformity of the Monster conceal'd.

Secondly, That *God is Omnipotent*, and the *Protestant Religion* is under his immediate Protection, and that he is able to defend it without means, and against probability.

To the *First* I make Answer in the Words of the Prince of *Denmark*, in the Letter he wrote to the late King *James*, on his joining with the Prince of *Orange*, our present King, at his coming into *England*;

That were not Religion the most justifiable Cause, it would not be made the most specious Pretence.

And to this Quotation I shall add; You may as well argue against the Christian Church Administring the Eucharist, because *Henry* VII. Emperor of *Germany* was Poyson'd by a Consecrated Host.

As to the Second Argument, 'Tis true God Governs the World, and in his Government of the World he has ordered that we should Govern our selves by Reason. God has subjected even the ways of his Providence to Rational Methods, and Outward Means agree to it. The great Chain of Causes and Effects is not interrupted, even by God himself; if it be, it is on Extraordinary Occasions, which we call Miracles.

Now according to the Nature of Causes and Consequences, the Argument for our Care of Religion must be good; as to those People who look for Miracles, I have nothing to say to them.

The

The Villainy of Stock-Jobbers *detected, and the Cauſes of the late Run upon the* Bank *and* Bankers *diſcovered and conſidered.*

IT has more than once been foretold that Stock-Jobbers and Brokers would ruin our Trade, and ſeveral Times they have bid fair for the Performance.

But never was a greater Wound given to Trade in general, than now; never ſo unhappily Tim'd to the Diſadvantage both of the Publick Revenue, and the Current Credit of the Nation, nor never was there ſo much Bare-fac'd Villany acted; in the Affairs of publick Trade as there is now.

Trade in general is Built upon, and ſupported by two eſſential and principal Foundations, *Viz.* Money and Credit, as the Sun and Moon alternately *Enlighten* and *Envigorate* the World, ſo theſe two Eſſentials maintain and preſerve our Trade; they are the Life and Soul of Trade, and they are the ſupport of one another too. Money raiſes Credit, and Credit in its turn is an Equivalent to Money.

From hence it follows, That Trade always bears a Proportion to Money and Credit; and conſequently, they who by any Methods diminiſh the Stock of Caſh or Credit, equally injure our Trade.

Tho' it would ſeem needleſs to go back to particular Caſes for the proof of this Aſſertion, yet it may not be amiſs to ſee a little from whence it comes to paſs, That our Trade is leſs now the War is over, than it was before it began.

The calling in our Coin viſibly put a ſtop to Trade, becauſe *the Stream which drove the Mill, the Oil that mov'd the Wheel*, was ceas'd. The prodigious Paper-Credit which paſt in *Lombard-ſtreet*, and which ſupply'd more

more than twice the Quantity of the Coin, equally ſupported Trade with the Money, and ſunk at once with the Coin.

The Merchants finding the ſenſible loſs to Trade, for want both of that Money and Credit, put their Invention on the Tenters; and found out the Expedient of a Bank. The Exchequer alſo feeling the loſs of the Coin ſupplied with an imaginary Species in Exchequer Bills, and yet both theſe fail'd in the Performance. So impoſſible is it to force Credit without Caſh. For till the ready Money began to appear again, the Brokers and Jobbers made a Prey of all Mankind in the matter of Bills; and in ſpight of the endeavours of the Bank, or the Exchequer, they bought and ſold their Notes at the ſhameful Diſcount of 10, to 16 and 20 *l. per Cent.*

I ſhall not think it needful to view the ill Effect this had upon our Trade; how the needy Tradeſmen, who ſold their Goods at common Rates, were fain to Diſcount more than their profit to get their Money. How the Exchequer-Notes deſign'd for a currency in Payments were Jobb'd about the Town; and by the Policy of theſe Gentlemen put upon the Tradeſmen, in order to be bought again at high Diſcounts, and then Engroſs'd again by the Money'd Men, who obtain'd the Diſcount as a *Premio* added to the Intereſt upon the Originals.

I could fill a large Volume with the Relation of ſuch Particulars, and eaſily make out the damage that befel our Trade in general; but I have inſtanc'd this only to prove how fatal the ſinking of Paper-Credit has been to the Nation.

The ſupply of new Money from the Mint, and the recovery of the Bank has revived our Trade; and with our Money Credit alſo began to revive: For Credit always follows plenty of Caſh, as naturally as the Effect does the Cauſe.

But, as if ſome ill Fate attended the publick Affairs, and we were not to recover our former Magnitude in Trade; but always to be ſacrific'd to the Follies and Intereſts

tereſts of particular Men; here is another general Blow given to the publick Credit, and a ſtop to the Currency of Bills, That it will have a more fatal Effect then yet appears, I believe every Body expects; but I ſhall not ſo much predict the Conſequences, as endeavour to detect the Cauſes.

Any one might have foreſeen, That the Striſe and Contention of our two *Eaſt-India-Companies* would produce ſome more than Ordinary Effect; and that the raiſing Stock of all Sorts, to a Value ſo much above the *Intrinſick*, muſt have ſome fatal Iſſue, and would fall ſome where at laſt ſo heavy as to be felt by the whole Body of Trade.

But beſides this, 'twas eaſie to ſee that the different Intereſt of Parties would lay open the Publick to be injur'd by both of them.

Perhaps 'tis eaſier to Demonſtrate, That this miſchief is the contrivance of Perſons and Parties, than it is to diſcover the Perſons, and prove the Fact. But on the other Hand, 'tis not very difficult to Trace it back to its Original, and detect the very Perſons.

The deſign of this Paper is not an Invective at any particular Perſon or Party, nor is it wrote to court or pleaſe either Side; but if any thing be ſaid which touches or expoſes the Guilty, 'tis that they, if they pleaſe, may ſee their Errors; and if not, the Nation may take care not to be further injur'd by them.

If that new *Miſtery* or *Machine* of Trade we call *Stock-Jobbing*, be firſt prov'd to be at the bottom of all this Miſchief; I hope the great Repreſentative of the Nation; the *Parliament* will need very few Arguments to ſatisfie them of its being a publick Grievance.

The Old *Eaſt-India* Stock by the Arts of theſe unaccountable People, has within 10 Years or thereabouts, without any material Difference in the Intrinſick Value, been Sold from 300 *l. per Cent.* to 37 *l. per Cent.* from whence with Fluxes and Refluxes, as frequent as the Tides, it has been up at 150 *l. per Cent.* again; during all which Differences, it would puzzle a very good

Artiſt

Artiſt to prove, That their real Stock *(if they have any)* ſet loſs and gain together, can have varied above 10 *l. per Cent.* upon the whole; nor can any Reaſons for the riſe and fall of it be ſhown, but the Politick Management of the Stock-Jobbing Brokers; whereby, according to the Number of Buyers and Sellers, which 'tis alſo in their Power to make and manage at will, the Price ſhall dance attendance on their Deſigns, and riſe and fall as they pleaſe, without any regard to the Intrinſick Worth of the Stock.

The New *Company*, the Bank of *England*, the *Exchequer*, the whole Nation as has been lately obſerv'd in *the Freeholders Plea againſt Stock-Jobbing*, *Elections of Parliament Men* is, or is in a fair Way to be ſubjected to the ſame Management.

To bring it home to the Caſe in Hand, The apparent deſign of ſome People to ruin the Credit of the Nation by way of Revenge, on a Party who had oppoſed them in other Deſigns, ſeems ſo clear, that it hardly needs to be further explained.

As ſoon as the Election of Parliament Men for the City of *London* was over, or ſo far over as that it plainly appeared on which ſide it enclin'd, a certain Party prepar'd their Meaſures to bring about the very Deſign, which now we ſee broke out upon us.

And that any obſerving People may recollect themſelves in the matter, it may be taken Notice of,

Firſt, That the Old *Company* has ever ſince, and ſometime before, been amaſſing to themſelves all the ready Money they could poſſibly get, in order to form the Deſign, and make a general Scarcity of Caſh, at the ſame time ſtopping their Hands as to Payments, and Exports, as much as they could; and ſome People pretend to ſay, they have a Million of Money by them in Specie.

From whence I only make Two Short Obſervations.

First, *That we may see the Nations Enemies are Masters of their Measures, and know the directest way to ruin us: For nothing could be more Fatal to Trade, and the publick Credit, than engrossing the Current Cash, and keeping it from the Circulation, which is the Life of our Trade.* But this is not the only thing in which the Old Company have injured our general Interest of Trade.

Secondly, *'Tis a sign they do not live under a* French *Government; and 'tis well for them they do not, tho' themselves have been so fond of that Interest; for a King of* France *might have sent them Word,* That Money being made to Circulate, if they did not know how to employ it, he did; *and commanded them to lend it him at* 3 per Cent.

All the while the Old *Company* were laying up the Cash, and dreining the Town of their ready Money, Guinea's especially; another set of Men who are known to be in the same Interest, and to have concerted Measures together, laid up in the same Proportion, all the Bank-Bills they could lay Hands on.

It is impossible to imagine that two or three Men should lay by Bank-Notes to the Tune of 300000 Pounds, which had no running Interest upon them, and have no design in it; they are known to be Men who understand their own Advantages better than so, and have not rais'd such vast Fortunes as they possess from such blind Methods; but the vesting all their running Cash in Bank-Bills; the Old *Company* at the same time securing all the ready Money, was the first Preliminary of the design which now broke out.

Things thus prepar'd, the next stroke at the publick currency of Cash, was a report politickly rais'd and industriously spread abroad, that by a Complaint from the Mint, *which was nonsence in it self too,* the Government was moved to cry down the *French* Pistoles to 17 *s.* 1 *d.* and the Proclamation was in the Press forsooth e-

very

very Day; tho' neither Government nor Mint had then done any thing in the matter.

Thus the Town was prepar'd, the Guinea's were utterly vaniſh'd, the Silver Money ſo leſſen'd as to make a viſible Scarcity; a Storm gathered for the Bank, Piſtoles made dubious. The next thing was the improving the approaching Seſſions of Parliament, and the proſpect of a War in *Europe*, to run down the Price of Stock; and when this was done, and all ripe for Execution, the parties fall to Work; and firſt they began with the Bank, and running hard upon them with Sums of ſuch magnitude, as eaſily diſcovered the deſign; allarum'd the Bank, who to return them their own kind, puſh'd at their Capital Banker Mr. *Shepheard*, and run him down preſently; and thus the Fight begun.

But leaſt the Bank ſhould be reliev'd from the Exchequer, they form an attack there too; where about Fifty Thouſand Pounds in Exchequer-Bills preſent themſelves for Payment at once.

This allarum'd the Exchequer too, on which a new Subſcription is call'd for by the Lords, for the exchanging Exchequer-Notes, and making them currant; which Subſcription we find goes on well; and if it comes to be finiſhed, and the Bank weathers this ſtorm, as 'tis not doubted it will; all this Hurricane may yet fall on themſelves; and it were only to be wiſh'd that the fall of Stocks would effect none but ſuch as have encourag'd this deſtructive *Hydra*; this new *Corporation* of *Hell*, *Stock-Jobbing*.

But ſince there are a great many honeſt Gentlemen, and Tradeſmen concern'd, whoſe Families and Fortunes are like to ſuffer for it; 'tis worth while to examine whether an Evil of ſo fatal a Nature to the Publick, ſo Deſtructive to Trade, and ſo ruinous to the Publick Credit, ought not Effectually to be ſuppreſt.

I cannot however forbear to blame the *Bank* of *England*, for Publiſhing at ſuch a Juncture as this, their willingneſs to allow an Intereſt on their Seal'd Notes; which

which seems too plain to discover their fears of the Party, and is a down right beging of Credit. I shall ask leave here to tell a short Story, something allusive to this, and which will explain what I mean; whether the Reader please to take it for a Parable, or a History, 'tis all one to me, and will serve my turn as well one way as another.

A certain Tradesman in *London* had borrowed a Thousand Pounds of a Scrivener at *6 per Cent.* Interest, and had kept it in his Hands some time; but losses coming upon him, and particularly one which shook his Foundation; he began to apprehend, that if it came to the Ears of that Creditor, the Scrivener, he would call in his Money; and at that juncture, such a demand would intirely ruin him.

To go to the Scrivener and give him a *Bribe*, to promise the continuing the Money; tho' he knew that sort of People willing enough to take Money, yet he thought it look'd like lessening himself, and would injure his Reputation, and possibly only serve to make that certain, which yet was but doubtful, and put him upon calling for the Money sooner than otherwise; upon which he resolv'd on a quite contrary Method.

He goes to the Scrivener, and tells him he had borrowed such a Sum of Money on him, and paid him Interest for it; but he found the Interest of the Money run high, and 'twas a hard thing for a Tradesman to pay it, that 'twas but working for other Folks; for he found Trade was dull, and he gave long Credit and the like, and therefore in short, he desired him to take in the Money again, for he was uneasie to be so deeply in Debt.

The Scrivener ask'd him when he would pay it, he told him that Afternoon; if he would send the Bond to his House, he had order'd his Man to tell up the Money.

The Scrivener told him, it was hard to put the Money on them without Warning, and would be a Loss to his Client to oblige him to take it in before he was pro-

provided to put it out again, that if he had call'd it in he would have given him Three Months time to pay it in, and so much Notice he expected.

Aye, but says the Tradesman, that will be a Loss to me too, for I must keep it by me, or else it may not be ready at the time. But, *pray Sir, said the* Scrivener, *keep the Money, Trade may mend; a Man that has a Thousand Pound by him, meets with Opportunities that he did not think on.*

The Tradesman finding his Design take, answers coldly *No*, and so they parted; at next Meeting, the Scrivener still pressing him to keep the Money, he tells him; *Look ye* Sir, *you desire me to keep this Money, if your Client will abate me* 1 per Cent. *of Interest, I'll keep it longer*: The Scrivener agrees, and the Tradesman answer'd his End, whereas had he gone and offer'd him 1 *per Cent.* more for Interest or Continuance, 'tis Ten to One but they had call'd for their Money.

I leave any Body to apply this Story to the Bank of *England*, offering double Interest at a time, when a Storm threatned them, they indeed are the best judges of their own Affairs; but if they had stood their Ground boldly without it, I am of Opinion with Submission, their Credit had stood clearer.

The Credit of the Bank of *England* does not immediately consist in the reality of their Foundation: 'Tis true it does originally depend upon the Goodness of their Bottom, but the more immediate Credit of their Proceeding, depends upon the currency of their Bills, and the currency of their Bills depends upon ther immediate Pay; *the Bank has no Advantage of the meanest Goldsmith as to their current Bills*, for no longer than their Payments continue punctual and free, no longer will any Man take their Bills, or give them Credit for Money.

All the Credit which remains to the Bank after their Payment comes to stop, *if ever such a time shall be*, is that People have a Satisfaction; that at long run their Principal

Principal is safe, and their bottom will pay their Debts: This is the Credit of their Stock, but the Credit of their Cash ends, if ever they baulk but one Bill.

To ask the World to stay for their Money, and take Interest, is to weaken the Credit of their Cash, and transfer themselves to the Credit of their Stock which no Body doubts to be good.

I know therefore nothing the Bank could have done more to injure the Credit of their running Cash, than to make such a Proposal of Interest upon their Bills, which formerly they publickly refused.

I question not but the Bank will outlive the Design of all the Sir *C*——*s.* and Sir *L*——*s.* in *England*; and if they do answer all the demands which now run upon them without Payments, their Enemies will receive a particular Mortification: But I am of the Opinion at the same time, they will be sensible that the offer of doubling the Interest on their Bills, really rather injur'd them, than answered the End they proposed.

From these particular Instances, I proceed to examine whether these People who have carried on these Measures, have not answer'd two Designs together; and at one Blow attempted to wound their opposite Party and Government also.

Whoever Wounds the publick Credit, wounds the whole Nation, and the Government, the giving a blow to the Currency of proper Credit, is robbing the Nation of so much Stock; for Credit is the second Branch of Stock, and Trade must decline accordingly; by lessening our Stock and Trade, we are weakened in the main strength of the Kingdom; the Government is weaken'd, Aids and Taxes must fall short, especially where Trade is to pay them, Loans and Anticipations, which are Advancements made for the immediate Service of the Government will be stopt.

If it be in the power of Mercenary Brokers and Companies to engross the Current Cash, so as to make a Scarcity of Money, it must consequently be in their

Power, whenever they are pleaſed to ſhow their Diſeſteem to the Government, to prevent the advancement of any Sum of Money for the publick Service.

And this Experiment may be a Trial of their Skill, to let us ſee what they are able to do, if the City does not take Care to oblige them by chuſing Magiſtrates or Repreſentatives to their Mind, or out of their Party.

'Tis very hard, that this ſort of Men by the Power of their Money, and the Influence they have in the Stocks of Companies, ſhould have it in their Hands to put a general ſtop to Credit, Caſh, Banks, and even the Exchequer it ſelf.

'Tis known, their Affection to the Government is but very indifferent, and that generally ſpeaking, both thoſe two great Men we have mention'd, and almoſt the whole Party, who eſpouſe the Old Companies Quarrel, have put themſelves in a direct Oppoſition to the Friends of the Government, and always run retrograde to the King, and the Nations Intereſt.

That they have deſign'd ill, is manifeſt by the Event, becauſe they have done what lay in their Power to ruin the Nations Credit, in order to affect the general Trade, as well as the Perſons.

I ſhall now examine a little the reaſon of this Combuſtion, and I cannot but reflect that there ſeems to be ſeveral Cauſes to which it may be aſſign'd; all of which ſeem but to expoſe the Temper of the People we ſpeak of, and to make both them and their Cauſe odious to Mankind.

Firſt, *From Ambition* to ſhow the City that they are Perſons whom it is Dangerous to diſoblige, and that they are able to ſhow their Reſentments in a Method which they ought to be afraid of to let them ſee that they knew not what they did, when they Poll'd againſt Men of ſuch Power and Influence as they, and that they ought to have a Care of affronting Men, in whoſe Power it lay ſo much to check the moſt eſſential Point of the Cities proſperity, *their Trade*; and to let the Government ſee too, that they are Men of ſuch Fi-

gures

gures and Authority in the Nation, and can at their Pleaſure ſo manage the Caſh and Trade of the Town, that they can ſtop our Credit, break our Goldſmiths, ſink our Stocks, embarraſs the Bank, and ruin Trade at their Will and Pleaſure.

So far as this is a good Reaſon, ſo far with Submiſſion the Government is concern'd to take Care that their Influence and Power be ſo reſtrained by wholſome Laws, as that the whole Command of the Nations Caſh and Credit may not be in the Hands of Companies and Stock-Jobbers.

Another original Cauſe of the preſent Diſturbance, is theſe Men exerting the Power I have been ſpeaking of by way of Reſentment:

1. *At the Citizens, in the Slur they thought put upon them by the Livery, for oppoſing their Election.*
2. *At the New Company, for Reaſons drawn from the Different Intereſts of both the ſaid Companies.*

I ſhall not examine here whether the *Eaſt-India* Trade be a real prejudice to the general Stock of the Kingdom, but I muſt be excuſed to be poſitive in this, That the two Rival Companies are certainly a prejudice to the *Eaſt-India* Trade.

And I may ſafely add, That *Jobbing* their Stocks about, raiſing and ſinking them at the Pleaſure of Parties, and private Intereſts, is more prejudicial to Trade in general, than both the Companies can make amends for.

There is hardly a private Tradeſman in the Town, but one way or other feel the effects of the leaſt ſtop to the currency of Caſh, and Goldſmiths Bills; and it ſeems to be *a Grievance to be puniſhed by the Judge*, That the general Head of Trade in a City, ſo dependant upon Trade as this is, ſhould be liable to the Clandeſtine Ma-

nagement of Parties, and suffer for the petty Quarrels and Disputes of two *East-India* Companies that have nothing to do with them.

As to the Disputes between the two Companies being prejudicial both to themselves, and to every Body else; 'tis plain by what has been said, they are prejudicial to Trade in general, by how much their private Disputes affect the value of other Peoples Estates, raising and sinking of Stocks, which have no relation to them, and influencing publick Credit.

They are and will be certainly Destructive to the *East-India* Trade in general, by glutting the Nation so with Goods, as to prejudice the Manufacture of *England*, and disgust as well as injure the Poor; and by reducing the Prices of their own Goods to out-do and under-sell one another; which 'tis hop'd also may in time reduce them both to Circumstances more proportioned to the Nature of the Trade, and to their own Interest.

Not that I believe 'twould be best for *England* to have no *East-India-Company* neither; many parts of that Trade are certainly beneficial to the *English* Trade in general; but to carry it on to such a Magnitude as is palpably destructive to the *English* Manufactures, and Impoverishing to the Nation by exporting such quantities of *Bullion* in Specie, must certainly make it a publick Nuisance, a burthen to Trade, and a damage to the Nation.

Add to this the strife between them, their Emulation in Sales must certainly destroy their own Designs, and ruin them both. For cheapness of any Goods Imported which are with our Manufacture, must be prejudicial to that Manufacture; and when two of a Trade strive to ruin one another by under-selling, it generally ruins the Trade, and both Parties too.

So that from the Contention between these two Companies, Trade in general is Injur'd, our Manufactures discouraged, both Companies will in the end be ruin'd, and the *East-India* Trade spoil'd if not lost.

For

For it does not follow, That becauſe Eight or Ten Ships a Year from *India*, may be a neceſſary and profitable Trade; that therefore Thirty Ships muſt be ſo too; and 'tis eaſie to demonſtrate, that whereas we may want Eight or Ten Ships a Year in that Trade, Twenty or Thirty would ruin the Trade it ſelf, and be a general Prejudice to the Nation.

Trade is in no reſpect tolerable, but as 'tis Profitable; and the profit conſiſts, or at leaſt depends upon proportion of Circumſtances; if the Import exceeds the Demand, Goods muſt fall, and if the Goods fall, the Profit ſinks.

The Companies cannot expect, eſpecially now their Silk Trade is limited, (as by Act of Parliament it is) that this Trade can vent the Import of about Sixty Sail of Ships now abroad; if they come to under-ſelling one another, they are gone, and their Stock is not worth 20 *per Cent.* from the firſt Day they begin it.

In the mean Time, if they do find a vent for ſo great a quantity of Goods as all thoſe Ships muſt Import, the *Engliſh* Manufacture muſt ſuffer.

On the whole matter,

Whether we conſider the injury to the publick Credit by the Villany of Stock-Jobbers.

The expoſing the Eſſentials of the Nations Proſperity, to the Management of mercenary Brokers and Parties; who upon every occaſion they are pleaſed to take, when ſuch as they think fit to approve of, are not choſen Lord Mayors or Parliament-Men, ſhall take the Liberty to ſhew their Reſentments by Affronting the Government, ruining Banks and Goldſmiths, and ſinking the Stocks of all the Companies in Town:

Or, the powerful Influence they have by their Money on the current Caſh of the Nation.

Whether any of these Things are considered: I leave it to the wise Heads of the Nation, now concerned to reflect and examine, whether it be consistent with the Safety of the *English* Nation, with the Honour of the *English* Government, or with the Nature of the *English* Trade, to suffer such a sort of People to go on unprescrib'd and unlimited, or indeed unpunish'd.

What safety can we have at Home, while our Peace is at the mercy of such Men, and 'tis in their Power to *Jobb* the Nation into Feuds among our selves, and to declare a new sort of Civil War among us when they please?

Nay, the War they manage is carried on with worse Weapons than Swords and Musquets; Bombs may Fire our Towns, and Troops over-run and Plunder us. But these People can ruin Men silently, undermine and impoverish by a sort of impenetrable Artifice, like Poison that works at Distance, can wheedle Men to ruin themselves, and *Fiddle them out of their Money*, by the strange unheard of Engines of *Interests*, *Discounts*, *Transfers*, *Tallies*, *Debentures*, *Shares*, *Projects*, and the *Devil and all* of Figures and hard Names. They can draw up their Armies, and levy Troops, set *Stock* against *Stock*, *Company* against *Company*, *Alderman* against *Alderman*; and the poor Passive Tradesmen, like the Peasant in *Flanders*, are plundered by both sides, and hardly knows who hurts them.

What will become of the Honour of the *English* Nation, if the principal Affairs relating to the Credit both of the publick and private Funds is dependant upon such vile People, who care not who they ruin, nor who they advance, tho' one be the Nation's Friends, and the other its Enemies, and expos'd to their particular Resentments?

He is a worthy Patriot, and fitly qualified for a Representative, who would join his strength to over-throw the Credit of the City, and ruin Trade only to shew his private Resentment for not being chosen as he thought fit to expect.

Lastly,

Lastly, What Condition must the Trade of *England* be soon reduc'd to, when Banks and Paper-Credit, which must be own'd to be a material part of its subsistance, are become so precarious as to be liable to a general Interruption from the Breath of mercenary, malitious, and revengeful Men.

It might be said here, *You are very high against Stock-jobbing, and Stock-jobbers, no Man ought to complain of an Evil he cannot Remedy.* Can you propose how to remove the grievance, and free us from the Inconveniencies you have discovered?

For answer, I might say, 'tis not always to be expected that he that finds a Fault shou'd mend it: If an Enemy have laid an Ambuscade to surprise a Town, he who first Discovers it is as Instrumental to save the Place, as he who defends the Works, and the Wisdom of the Parliament, their present Session being upon us, together with the consequence of the thing it self, methinks might turn the Eyes of all Men from a single Person to that great Assembly, and expect the Remedy where the Power of Redress more particularly is lodg'd.

But that I may also let the Reader know that this Disease is not incurable, nor the Men unpunishable, I will lay down a few Generals, which if put into execution by the Authority of Parliament, may be effectual to suppress such People as we complain off, and also to prevent the Consequences.

First, To impeach the Persons of such Misdemeanors as on a fair Hearing may be prov'd on them, and among such other Punishments as the Authority of Parliament shall judge they deserve: Let them be made uncapable of buying, selling, transferring, or possessing, either in their own Names, or the Names of any Person in trust for them, any Shares, or parts of or in any of the Publick Stocks, Banks, or Companies now in being, or shall hereafter be form'd or establish'd, either publick or private.

Secondly, Reduce the two Companies into one, limited and restrain'd to such Conditions and Articles, as shou'd make the Stocks and Shares so Transferrable, as to Circumstances of Time and Persons, as may render alienating the Property more difficult and chargeable; at the same time all Stock to be Forfeited to the Informer, which shall be Alienated, Pawn'd, Mortgag'd, Given or Sold, without it be immediately Transfer'd.

Thirdly, Charge a Duty of 10 *per Cent.* to be paid the King by the Seller, upon all Stock Transfer'd, as often as 'tis Alienated or Transfer'd.

Fourthly, Oblige every Person to whom any Stock is Transfer'd, to swear that he will not Buy, Sell, Alienate or otherwise Mortgage or pledge the said Stock without a legal Entry of the same, in the Books of the said Companies, and Transfering the same according to *Act of Parliament.*

Fifthly, Limit the *East-India* Company to such Conditions both to Stock and Trade, as may be consistent with the preserving the Trade to *India* to the *English* Nation, and yet preventing the said Trade, from interfering with, encroaching upon, or otherwise being detrimental to our own Manufactures; that it may be carried on without *Factions* among the Rich, or *Clamours* from the Poor; *oblige them* to import proper Quantities of such Commodities as serve to help forward our own Trade, and such as the Nation wants, as *Saltpetre*, *Raw Silk*, *Spices*, *Drugs*, *Canes* and *Callicoes*, and *limit them* from importing too great quantities of such Goods as lessen the Consumption of our own Manufacture.

These methods, with the Additions of such as the VVisdom of the Nation will find out, wou'd effectually suppress this pernicious, growing Party, whose dangerous Practices are of such a Nature, that no Man can say, where they will end.

Then

Then we shall Trade upon the square; Honesty and Industry will be the method of Thriving, and plain Trade be the General business of the Exchange.

Bankrupt and Beggers have advanced the Mistery of Stock-jobbing, and we can now reckon up a black List of Fifty Seven Persons, who within this Ten Years past have rais'd themselves to vast Estates, most of them from Mechanick, and some of them from broken and desperate Fortunes, by the sharping, tricking, intrequing, scandalous Employment of Stock-jobbing, who have been the Losers, or what the General Stock of the Nation has been better'd by them, is a Mystery too hard to be explain'd.

Now they ride in their Coaches, keep splendid Equipages, and thrust themselves into Business, set up for Deputies, Aldermen, Sheriffs, or Mayors; but above all, for Parliament Men, of which (with the mischievous Consequences that are like to attend it) enough is said to *The Freeholders Plea*; which I noted before, and to which I refer and shall conclude with this short note.

That I think, with submission, all honest Men ought to know their Names, in order to shun their dangerous Acquaintance; and the Government has nothing before them, but effectually to suppress and ease the Nation of so intolerable a Grievance.

The Six Distinguishing Characters of a Parliament-Man.

Good People of England,

THE Disuse or Distrust of Parliaments in the Four last Reigns, was the Nation's General Grievance; and 'twas but lately that Parliaments were Consulted in the Matters of *Highest Importance* to the Kingdoms.

This

This was the Destruction of that Mutual Confidence between King and People, which is so Essential to the Prosperity of a Nation.

Parliaments were call'd together, a long Speech, and great Pretences for Money open'd the Session; and as soon as the End was answer'd, they were sent Home about their Business.

If they began to show their Resentments, and appear sensible of their being Impos'd upon, if they began to search into the Intriegues of the Court, if they began to Question *Favourites* and *Ministers*, they were equally certain of being dismiss'd.

Now to show us what kind of a Nation we are (that according to the Old Character of an *Englishman*) can never tell when we are Well, Providence has chang'd the Scene.

Former Kings have been Addressed by their Parliament to make War against the *French*, and Money given by Millions to carry it on, and have had their Money spent, and no War could be had.

Now we have a King that has fought our Battels in Person, and willingly run through all the Hazards of a bloody War, and has been oblig'd to use all the Perswasions possible to bring us to Support him in it.

Former Kings would stand still, and see the *French* over-run *Flanders*, and Ruin our Protestant Neighbours, though the Parliament and People have intreated them to Assist them, and save *Flanders* from the falling into the Hands of the *French*.

Now we have a King who Solicites the People to enable him to preserve *Flanders* from falling into the Hands of the *French*, and to stand by and assist our Protestant Neighbours. And we on the contrary are willing to see the *French* and Popish Powers unite and possess *Flanders*, and every thing else, and glad the *Dutch* are in danger to be Ruin'd; nay, so willing we are to have the *States General* destroy'd, that *Damn the Dutch* is become a Proverb among us.

Formerly

Formerly we had Kings who raiſed Armies in times of Peace, and maintain'd them on ſham Pretences of a War never deſign'd, and receiv'd Aids from the Parliament three times for the Disbanding one Army, and having ſpent the Money left the Parliament to do it themſelves.

Now we have a King who againſt his Judgment, and, as it now appears, againſt the Nation's Intereſt, conſented to Disband the Army at the firſt Word from his Parliament, though he left all the moſt Powerful of our Neighbours with their Forces in full Pay.

Formerly we had Kings who did what they pleas'd, now we have a King who lets us do what we pleaſe.

And yet we *Engliſhmen* are not contented, but, as it were with our Saviour, when our Kings come Eating and Drinking, they cry, *Behold a Gluton and a Drunkard*; and now they have a King that comes neither Eating or Drinking, they cry out, *He has a D---l.*

'Tis a vain thing to pretend to open the Eyes of the *Engliſh* Nation, but by their own immediate Danger, any body might have known in former times what the Iſſue of a Popiſh Succeſſor would have been, and ſome wiſer than others told the People of it, and were Rewarded with the Ax and the Halter for their News.

But when that Popiſh Succeſſor came to the Crown, and had reduc'd the Liberties and Religion of the Nation to the laſt Gaſp, then thoſe very People, who could not ſee their Danger at a diſtance, took a fright when it was upon them, and what was the Conſequence? Nothing *but all the Blood and Treaſure of this laſt War.*

Had the Nation ſeen with the ſame Eyes as the late Lord *Ruſſel*, Earl of *Eſſex*, and the *Oxford Parliament*, did ſee, could they have been convinc'd by Argument, that *It was inconſiſtent with the Conſtitution of this Proteſtant Kingdom to be Govern'd by a Popiſh Prince.* Could the B---ps, who threw out that Bill have known that a

Popiſh

Popiſh King would erect a High Eccleſiaſtick Commiſſion Court, and ſend them to the *Tower*, for refuſing him Power to Diſpence with the Laws, this War had been prevented, and the Blood of 300000 *Engliſh* Proteſtants, who periſhed in it, had been ſav'd; all the Ships our Merchants have loſt to the *French* had been ſafe, and the many Millions of Money, which have been ſpent, had been in our Pockets; all this is owing to the blindneſs of that Age, who could not ſee the danger of the Nation, till it was juſt upon them.

Now, Gentlemen, this is to give you notice, that the Nation is more in danger at this time from abroad than ever it was then in at home.

The King in his Proclamation for the calling a Parliament, has done two things which no King his Predeceſſor ever did in our Age.

Firſt, He has told us, that he has ſuch a Confidence in his People, that he is very deſirous to meet them, and have their Advice in Parliament.

Secondly, He tells us, that what he will adviſe with them about are Matters of the higheſt Importance to the Kingdom.

Matters of the higheſt Importance to a Kingdom muſt relate to ſome of theſe things, Peace and War, the Safety of Religion, Liberty and Trade; at leaſt it will be allow'd that theſe are Matters of the higheſt Importance to the Kingdom.

Now, tho' I ſhall adventure to explain his Majeſty's meaning, yet I may be allow'd to build the following Diſcourſe on the ſuppoſition of this Explication.

And venture to ſuppoſe his Majeſty had ſaid, that the danger the Proteſtant Religion ſeems to be in from the formidable Appearance of the *French* Power, and the danger our Trade is in from the Succeſſion of *Spain* devolving to the Houſe of *Bourbon*, and the danger of a new Flame of War breaking out upon our Confederated Neighbours, whom our Intereſt, as well as Leagues and Alliances oblige us to Aſſiſt; all theſe

things

things being Matters of the higeſt Importance to the Kingdom, he has reſolv'd to call a new Parliament, to adviſe with them about theſe important things.

And becauſe the Circumſtances of Affairs are ſuch, as may bring us under a neceſſity of Armies, which People are ſo mightily afraid of; and that the Condition the breach of our Army has left us in has been ſuch, that if another ſhould be wanting to defend us, 'tis a Queſtion where it could be rais'd.

Wherefore our proper Defence, may be one of the important things, for ought we know, about which they are to Adviſe.

And becauſe the Debate of an Army is a tender nice Point, I ſhall explain my ſelf; I do not mean that a Standing Army ſhould have been kept up in *England* in time of Peace, but, I ſay, it had been better for *England* and all *Europe* that we had not diſarm'd our ſelves ſo ſoon; and if we had diſarm'd, that we had not ſo entirely done it all at once; whereby we rendred our ſelves ſo deſpicable, that the *French* King has had an opportunity to Affront the whole Confederacy, in renouncing a League ratify'd and exchang'd, and taking poſſeſſion of a Crown for his Grandſon, on the new invented Title of a laſt Will and Teſtament.

This he would not have adventur'd to have done, had the *Engliſh* been in a Capacity to have poſſeſs'd *Flanders*, and to have appear'd at Sea, to have Protected the Princes of *Italy* in their Adherence to the Emperor.

But the *Engliſh* having reduc'd themſelves to ſuch a Condition, that whenever the *French*, or any body elſe, pleaſe to Quarrel with us, we muſt be a conſiderable while before we can be in a poſture to act Offenſively, and the *French* having ſo inſulted us in the Affair of *Spain*, that it will ſtand as an effectual Proof, whether we are in a Capacity to reſent an Affront or no; His Majeſty, who, when in a much lower Station, did not uſe to ſuffer himſelf to be ſo treated, has thought fit to adviſe with the *Engliſh* Parliament in the Caſe.

By

By advising with the Parliament, I understand, informing them of the State of Affairs, telling them his own Opinion, and asking theirs, proposing the Measures he thinks fit to take, and desiring their Opinion of the Matter, and if they agree with him in the Measures which are to be taken, then to propose their making provision in a Parliamentary way, for enabling him to prosecute such Measures as they agree to.

For to debate and consider Matters of so much Consequence, the King has directed Writs for the calling a new Parliament to meet at *Westminster* the 6th of *February* next.

Since the Matter is referr'd to the People of *England*, and they are to chuse Representatives for so great a Work, as to Advise with a Protestant King about things of the highest Importance to the Kingdom.

Give a stander-by leave, Gentlemen, to offer something to the People of *England*, by way of Advice or Direction, in the great Affair they have before them, and if it be with more Freedom than is usual, bear with him for once, because 'tis about Matters of the highest Importance.

The usual Advices given in like Cases, formerly (when the Elections of Members were so corrupted, that indeed Advice was necessary, tho' hopeless) *use to be*, to chuse Men that had Estates, and Men of Honesty, Men that had Interests in the Freehold, and in the Corporations, and that would not give away their Liberties, *and the Advice was good*: And had the Country taken that Advice the P—— would not have been huff'd by King *James* into a tacit permission both of a Standing Army at Home, and the dispensing the Popish Officers continuing in Commission without taking the Test.

But my Advice must differ from, tho' it must include part, of the forementioned Particulars; and therefore while I am directing these Sheets to the Freeholders of *England*, I beg them to consider in their Choice of Parliament-men, that they may be Men of Estates,

Estates, and Men of Honour in the Countries, who by some Circumstances may not be proper to serve in this Parliament, because by Prejudice or private Principles their Judgment may be pre-engaged to the disadvantage of the Nation's Interest; and since there are such, 'tis necessary, Gentlemen, to Caution you.

First, That you be well assur'd the Gentlemen you shall chuse are throughly engag'd with the present Circumstances of the Nation, and throughly satisfied with the present Establishment of the Government; as Papists are justly excluded by Law from coming to Parliament, because it cannot be expected that a *Roman Catholick* can be a proper Person to consult about the Interest of a Protestant Kingdom, so it cannot be Rational that he who is a declar'd Friend to King *James* or his Interest, can be a proper Person to Advise with King *William* about Matters of the highest Importance to the Kingdom; it cannot be Rational, that he who would be willing to have this Nation return to her Obedience to a Popish King, can be a proper Person to be Consulted with in Parliament about securing and defending the Protestant Religion; this were to pull down what we intend to build, and would be as proper a way to help us, as a *French* Army maintain'd in *England*, would be proper to defend us against *Lewis* the Fourteenth.

Those Men who drink Healths to King *James*, and wish him all manner of Prosperity, are they fit Men to Represent a Protestant Nation, and to Advise a Protestant Prince for the Security of the Protestant Religion?

Wherefore, Gentlemen, for God sake, and for your own sakes, take heed, and set a Mark on such Men; if you chuse Men disaffected to the present Settlement of the Nation, Friends to the late King, or to his Interest, you may be certain such Men will pull back the Nation's Deliverance, and hinder, not further that Unanimity of Councils, which is so much more needful now than ever. Can the Friends to a Popish Prince be

fit

fit to Represent a Protestant People? I have nothing to say to those we call *Jacobites, tho' I wonder any can be such, and yet be Protestants*; but as to their Persons I say nothing to them, no, nor to the *Papists*, provided they keep the Peace; but to single such out to serve the Nation in a Protestant Parliament, and to Advise with King *William* in Matters of the highest Importance; this is a thing so Prepposterous, is such a Contradiction, that I know not what to say to it; 'tis like going to the Devil with a Case of Conscience.

Even our Adversaries cannot but laugh at the folly of the *English* Nation, that they should chuse their Enemies to be their Counsellors, and think to Establish King *William* by King *James*'s Friends, nothing can sooner compleat the Ruin of the Kingdom, than to fill the House of Commons with *Jacobite* Members, who will be sure to forward any thing that tends to Division, in order to hinder the Nations Happiness; wherefore though I might imagine such Advice to be needless, I must insist upon it, that you will avoid such Men as either have discover'd a Disaffection to King *William* and the present Settlement of the Nation, or that have been upheld by that Party.

In the next place, Gentlemen, let your Eyes be upon Men of Religion, chuse no Atheists, Socinians, Hereticks, Asgillites and Blasphemers.

Had the Original of the late War been under the Reign of such a Body of Men, *England* might have made a Will, and given her Crown to the Duke *d' Berry*, as *Spain* has to the Duke *d' Anjou*, and have sought Protection from the *French*.

The danger of Religion calls for Men of Religion to consult about it; you can never expect that Atheists, Socinians, or Asgillites, will have any tenderness upon their Minds for the Protestant Religion; Jacobites will as soon support King *William*, as Atheists will preserve the Protestant Religion; what concern can they have upon their minds for the Protestant Religion, who really are of no Religion at all? They'll think it hard to

raise

raiſe any Money for the preſervation of Religion, who fancy all Religion to be a trick, and the cheat of the Clergy; they can never think the danger of the Proteſtant Religion to ſignifie much, who wou'd not give a Shilling to ſecure it; and they will never give a Shilling to ſecure it, who Believe nothing of the matter; beſides this, What good Laws? What Reformation of Manners? What wholeſome Orders for the Morality of Converſation can we expect from Men of no Religion?

Of all things therefore the Members you chuſe ſhou'd be Men of Religion, Men of Orthodox Principles, and Moral in Practice, and that more eſpecially now, becauſe the ſecurity of Religion not only here, but over the whole World, may lye before them, and have a great dependance upon their Councils.

3. Men of Sence; the Houſe of Commons is not a place for Fools; the great Affairs of the State, the Welfare of the Kingdom, the publick Safety, the Religion Liberties, and Trade, the VVealth and Honour of the Nation, are not things to be debated by Green Heads; the ſaying we have, that the Houſe of Commons is a School for States-men, is an Error, in my Opinion they ſhou'd be all well Taught, and thoroughly Learn'd in Matters of the higheſt Moment before they come there.

There has always been a ſort of Gentlemen in the H---ſe whoſe uſe to be called the Dead VVeight, who paſs their Votes in the Houſe as the poor Ignorant Freeholders in the Country do, juſt as the Landlord, or the Juſtice, or the Parſon directs; ſo theſe Gentlemen underſtanding very little of the matter, give their Vote juſt as Sir ſuch a one do's, let it be how it will, or juſt follow ſuch a Party, without judging of the Matter.

Pray Gentlemen, if we are ruin'd, and the Proteſtant Religion muſt ſink in the VVorld, let us do our beſt to Save it; don't let us have cauſe to ſay, we ſent a parcel of Fools about the Buſineſs that fell into Heats and Parties, and ſpent their time to no purpoſe, for want of knowing better.

Of all Employments a Fool is the most unfit for a Parliament Man, for there is no manner of Business for him; he is capable of saying neither *Ay*, nor *No*, but as he is lead.

I desire to be understood here what I mean by a Fool, not a Natural, an Idiot, a *Ben* in the *Minories*, a Born Fool, no, nor a silly, stupid, downright Blockheaded Fool: But Men are Fools or VViſe-Men, comparatively considered with respect to their several Capacities, and their several Employments; as he may be a Fool of a Parson who is a very Ingenious Artificer; a Fool of a Clock-maker, and yet be a very good-Sailor; so a Gentleman may be a good Horse-racer, a good Sportsman, a good Swords-man, and yet be a Fool of a Parliament-man, therefore so I am to be Understood.

That he who is Capable to serve his Country as a Representative in Parliament, ought to be a Man of Sence, that is, a Man of a general Knowledge, and Receptive of the general Notions of things, acquainted with the true Interest of his Native Country, and the general State of it, as to Trade, Liberties, Laws, and common Circumstances, and especialy of that part of it for which he serves; he ought to know how to deliver his Mind with freedom and boldness, and pertinent to the Case; and he ought to be able to distinguish between the different Circumstances of things, to know when their Liberties are Encroached upon, and to defend them, and to know how to value a Prince who is faithful to the Liberty and Interest of his Country, and to distinguish such a one from those who have made it their business to Oppress and Invade the Liberties and Properties of the People, and betray them and their Interest to Popish and Bloody Enemies.

4. Men of Years; though 'tis confess'd Wisdom makes a Young Man Old, yet the House of Commons is not a House for Boys; we have seen too many young Men in the House, and rash Councils are gene-

rally

rally the Effect of young Heads. Fools and Boys would do leſs harm in the Houſe, and grow wiſer by being there, were they but allow'd to Sit, and not give their Votes; but while a Boy may do as much Miſchief as a Man, and a Fool as a Man of Senſe, 'tis hard the Material Points of the Nation's Happineſs ſhould be committed either to young or weak Heads.

The Grandeur of the preſent *French* Monarchy is not unjuſtly aſcrib'd to the extraordinary Men, who are of the King's Council. The Parliament of *England* is the Great Council of the Nation, and on their Reſolutions depends the Proſperity both of King and People. Now if theſe Councils are committed to young Heads, the Proceedings will be ſuitable; as he that ſends a Fool with a Meſſage muſt expect a fooliſh Anſwer; ſo he that ſends a Boy to Market expects to make a Childs Bargain.

5. Men of Honeſty. It was formerly ſaid, Chuſe Men of Eſtates; the reaſon was, that they might not be tempted by Places and Penſions from the Court, to ſell the Nation's Liberties; and indeed the Caution was good; but, Gentlemen, the Caſe alter'd, the Court and the Nation's Intereſt are now all of a ſide, which they were not then, nor indeed never were ſince Queen *Elizabeth*. The King deſires we ſhould do nothing but what is for the Security and Proſperity of Religion, and the Glory of the Nation: The Caution about Eſtates can do no harm, but a Man's Eſtate does not Qualifie him at all to judge of the neceſſity of Giving.

The Article of Eſtate was only ſuppos'd to make a a Man Cautious what he gave, becauſe he was to pay the more of it himſelf. Now let a Man have but Senſe to know when there is a neceſſity to give, and that Senſe back'd with Honeſty, if he has not one Groat in Eſtate, he will be as cautious of giving away the Nation's Money, as he would be of his own:

To desire Men should have Estates that their Interest should make them shy, and backward to give Money, supposes at the same time they should want both Sense and Honesty. *Sense*, that they could not value the Nation's Money, unless that were to pay part of it themselves; and *Honesty*, that they would not take as much care of giving away the Nation's Money as their own. Wherefore do but chuse Men of Honesty, and I do not lay so great a stress upon a Man's Estate. If there was any Body to Bribe them, something might be said; but that Trade is over, (God be thank'd) King *William* has no need for it, and King *James* cannot afford it, and so that Fear ceases.

The last Character I shall recommend to your Choice is, let them be Men of Morals.

Rakes and Beaus are no more fit to sit in the House of Commons, than Fools and Knaves. 'Tis hard we should put the Work of Reformation into the Hands of such, whose Conversation is Vicious and Scandalous. A Drunken Parson is a very improper Agent to reform a Parish, a Lewd Swearing Justice is not likely to reform the Country, no more is a Vitious Immoral Parliament likely to reform a Nation. Reformation of Manners is an Article of the higest Importance to the Kingdom; the King has Recommended it to every Parliament, and yet we find it very much retarded; it goes on so heavily, that the Proceedings are hardly visible; and till you have a reform'd Parliament, you cannot expect a Parliament Reformers.

Unless our Members are Men of Morals, we must expect very few Laws against Immorality; and if there should such clean things come out of an unclean, it would be all Heterodox, and Unnatural; 'twould be like a monstrous Birth, the Parent would be affraid of it, and it would be asham'd of its Parent.

Besides,

Besides, how can we expect that God should accept of the Offering dedicated by Impure Hands? The Work can never be suppos'd to prosper while the Undertakers plead for God, and at the same time Sacrifice to the Devil.

'Tis true, that God oftentimes Works by unlikely Instruments, but 'tis not often that he Works by Contraries; *Jehu* was made use of to bring to pass the Ruin God had foretold to the Family of *Ahab*; but 'twas a *Josiah* and a *Jehosaphat*, for whom God reserv'd the Work of Reformation, and the Destruction of Idolatry.

But allow that God may make use of improper Methods, and unlikely Instruments, when he pleases to bring to pass what his Providence has design'd, yet we are not to confine him to show his Power, and oblige him to make use of such Instruments as he can have no Pleasure in, least he should think fit to refuse his Blessing, and make the Work Abortive, or at least delay his Concurrence to the Work of our Reformation, till we shall think fit to chuse such Persons for the carrying it on, as are fit to be employed in so great a Work.

THE
Poor Man's PLEA.

IN ſearching for a proper Cure of an Epidemick Diſtemper, Phyſicians tell us 'tis firſt neceſſary to know the Cauſe of that Diſtemper, from what Part of the Body, and from what ill Habit it proceeds; and when the Cauſe is diſcover'd, it is to be removed, that the Effect may ceaſe of its ſelf; but if removing the Cauſe will not work the Cure, then indeed they proceed to apply proper Remedies to the Diſeaſe it ſelf, and the particular Part afflicted.

Immorality is without doubt the preſent reigning Diſtemper of the Nation: And the King and Parliament, who are indeed the proper Phyſicians, ſeem nobly inclin'd to undertake the Cure. 'Tis a great Work, well worthy their utmoſt Pains: The Honour of it, were it once perfected, would add more Trophies to the *Crown*, than all the Victories of *this Bloody War*, or the glory of *this Honourable Peace*.

But as a Perſon under the Violence of a Diſeaſe ſends in vain for a Phyſician, unleſs he reſolves to mke uſe of his Preſcription; ſo in vain does the King attempt to reform a Nation, unleſs they are willing to reform themſelves, and to ſubmit to his Preſcriptions.

Wickedneſs is an ancient Inhabitant in this Country, and 'tis very hard to give its Original.

But however difficult that may be, 'tis eaſie to look back to a time when we were not ſo generally infected with Vice as we are now; and 'twill ſeem ſufficient to enquire into the Cauſes of our preſent Defection.

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The Protestant Religion seems to have an unquestioned *Title* to the first introducing a strict Morality among us; and 'tis but just to give the Honour of it, where 'tis so eminently due. Reformation of Manners has something of a Natural Consequence in it from Reformation in Religion: For since the principles of the *Protestant* Religion disown the Indulgencies of the *Roman* Pontiff, by which a thousand Sins are, *as Venial Crimes*, bought off, and the Priest, to *save God Almighty the trouble*, can blot them out of the Account before it comes to his Hand; common Vices lost their Charter, and Men could not Sin at so cheap a Rate as before. The Protestant Religion has in it self a natural Tendency to Virtue, as a standing Testimony of its own Divine Original, and accordingly it has suppress'd Vice and Immorality in all the Countries where it has had a Footing: It has civiliz'd Nations, and reform'd the very *Tempers* of its Professors: Christianity and Humanity has gone Hand in Hand in the World; and there is so visible a difference between the other civiliz'd Governments in the World, and those who now are under the Protestant Powers, that it carries its Evidence in it self.

The Reformation, begun in *England* in the Days of King *Edward* the Sixth, and afterwards gloriously finished by Queen *Elizabeth*, brought the *English* Nation to such a degree of Humanity and Sobriety of Conversation, as we have reason to doubt will hardly be seen again in our Age.

In King *James* the First's time, the Court affecting something more of Gallantry and Gaiety, Luxury got footing; and twenty Years Peace, together with no extraordinary Examples from the Court, gave too great Encouragement to Licentiousness.

If it took footing in King *James* the First's time, it took a deep Root in the Reign of his Son; and the Liberty given the Soldiery in the Civil War, dispers'd all manner of Prophaness throughout the Kingdom.

8. That Prince, tho' very Pious in his own Person and Practice had the Misfortune to be the first K. of *England*, and perhaps in the World, that ever establish'd Wickedness by a Law: By what unhappy Council, or secret ill Fate he was guided to it, is hard to determine; but the *Book of Sports*, as it was called, tended more to the vitiating the Practice of this Kingdom, *as to keeping the Lord's Day*, than all the Acts of Parliament, Proclamations and Endeavours of future Princes has done, or ever will do to reform it.

And yet the People of *England* express'd a general sort of an Aversion to that Liberty; *and some*, as if glutted with too much Freedom, when the Reins of Law were taken off, refused that Practice they allow'd themselves in before.

In the time of King *Charles* the Second, Lewdness, and all manner of Debauchery arriv'd to its Meridian: The Encouragement it had from the Practice and Allowance of the Court, is an invincible Demonstration how far the Influence of our Government extends in the Practice of the People.

The present King, and his late Queen, whose Glorious Memory will be dear to the Nation as long as the World stands, have had all this wicked Knot to unravel. This was the first thing the Queen set upon while the King was engaged in his Wars abroad: She first gave all sorts of Vice a general Discouragement; and on the contrary, rais'd the value of Virtue and Sobriety by her Royal Example. The King having brought the War to a Glorious Conclusion, and settled an Honourable Peace, in his very first Speech to his *Parliament* proclaims a new War against *Prophaneness* and *Immorality*, and goes on also to discourage the practice of it by his Royal Example.

Thus the Work is begun nobly and regularly; and the *Parliament*, the general Representative of the Nation, follows this Royal Example, in enacting Laws to suppress all manner of Prophaneness, *&c.*

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These are great Things, and well improv'd, would give an undoubted Overthrow to the Tyranny of Vice, and the Dominion *Prophaneneſs* has uſurp'd in the Hearts of Men.

But we of the *Plebeii* find our ſelves juſtly agrieved in all this Work of Reformation; and this Reforming Rigor makes the real Work impoſſible: Wherefore we find our ſelves forced to ſeek Redreſs of our Grievances in the old honeſt way of Petitioning Heaven to relieve us: And in the mean time we ſolemnly Enter our *Proteſtation* againſt the Vicious part of the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation; as follows:

Firſt, We Proteſt, That we do not find, impartially enquiring into the Matter, ſpeaking of Moral Goodneſs, that you are one jot better than we are, *your Dignities, Eſtates* and *Quality excepted*. 'Tis true, we are all bad enough, and we are willing in good Manners to agree, that we are as wicked as you; but we cannot find, on the exacteſt Scrutiny, but that in the Commonwealth of Vice, the Devil has taken care to level Poor and rich into one Claſs, and is fairly going on to make us all Graduates in the laſt Degree of Immorality.

Secondly, We do not find that all the Proclamations, Declarations, and Acts of Parliament yet made, have any *effective Power* to puniſh *you* for your Immoralities, as it does *us*. Now while *you* make Laws to puniſh *us*, and let *your ſelves* go free, tho' guilty of the ſame Vices and Immoralities, thoſe Laws are unjuſt and unequal in themſelves.

'Tis true, the Laws do not expreſs a Liberty to *you*, and a Puniſhment to *us*; and therefore the King and Parliament are free, as King and Parliament, from this our Appeal; but the Gentry and Magiſtrates of the Kingdom, while they execute thoſe Laws upon us the

poor

poor Commons, and themſelves practiſing the ſame Crimes, in defiance of the Laws both of God and Man, go unpuniſh'd; *This* is the Grievance we proteſt againſt, as unjuſt and unequal.

Wherefore, till the Nobility, Gentry, Juſtices of the Peace and Clergy, will be pleaſed either to Reform their own Manners, and ſuppreſs their own Immoralities, or find out ſome Method and Power impartially to puniſh themſelves when guilty, we humbly crave Leave to Object againſt ſetting any poor Man in the Stocks, or ſending them to the Houſe of Correction for Immoralities, as the moſt unequal and unjuſt way of proceeding in the World.

And now Gentlemen,

That this Proteſtation may not ſeem a little too Rude, and a Breach of good Manners to our Superiours, we crave Leave to ſubjoin our Humble Appeal to your ſelves; and will for once, knowing you as *Engliſh* Gentlemen to be Men of Honour, *make you Judges in your own Caſe.*

Firſt, Gentlemen, We appeal to your ſelves, whether ever it be likely to perfect the Reformation of Manners in this Kingdom, without you, Whether Laws to puniſh us, without your Example alſo to influence us, will ever bring the Work to paſs.

The firſt ſtep towards a looſe vicious Practice in this Nation was begun by King *Edward* the Sixth, back'd by a Reform'd Clergy, and a Sober Nobility: Queen *Elizabeth* carried it on: 'Twas the Kings and the Gentry which firſt again Degenerated from that ſtrict Obſervation of Moral Virtues, and from thence carried Vice on to that degree it now appears in. From the Court Vice took its *Progreſs* into the Country; and in the Families of the Gentry and Nobility it harbour'd, till it took Heart under their *Protection*, and made a general Salley into the Nation; and We the poor Commons,

mons, who have been always easie to be guided by the Example of our Landlords and Gentlemen, have really been debauch'd into Vice by their Examples: And it must be the *Example of you the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom*, that must put a Stop to the Flood of *Vice* and *Prophaneness* which is broken in upon the Country, or it will never be done.

Our Laws against all manner of Vicious *Practices* are already very severe: But Laws are useless, insignificant Things, if the Executive *Power* which lies in the Magistrate be not exerted. The Justices of the *Peace* have the Power to punish, but if they do not put forth that Power, 'tis all one as if they had none at all: Some have possibly exerted this Power; but wherever it has been so put forth, it has fallen upon us the poor Commons: These are all Cobweb Laws, in which the small Flies are catch'd, and great Ones break thro'. My Lord Mayor has whipt about the poor Beggars, and a few scandalous Whores have been sent to the House of Correction; some Alehouse-keepers and Vintners have been fin'd for drawing Drink on the Sabbath-Day; but all this falls upon us of the Mob, the poor *Plebeii*, as if all the Vice lay among us, for we do not find the Rich Drunkard carry'd before my Lord Mayor, nor a Swearing Lewd *Merchant*. *The Man with a Gold Ring, and Gay Cloaths*, may Swear before the Justice, or at the Justice, may reel home through the open Streets, and no Man take any notice of it; but if a poor Man get drunk, or swears an Oath, he must to the Stocks without Remedy.

In the second Place, We appeal to your selves, whether Laws or *Proclamations* are capable of having any Effect towards a Reformation of *Manners*, while the Benches of our Justices are infected with the scandalous Vices of Swearing and Drunkenness; while our Justices themselves shall punish a Man for Drunkenness, with a *God damn him, set him in the Stocks*: And if Laws and Proclamations are useless in the Case, then

they

they are good for nothing, and had as good be let alone as publiſh'd.

'Tis hard, Gentlemen, to be puniſh'd for a Crime, by a Man as guilty as our ſelves; and that the Figure a Man makes in the World, muſt be the reaſon why he ſhall not be liable to the Law: This is really puniſhing Men for being poor, which is no Crime at all; as a Thief may be ſaid to be hang'd, not for the Fact, but for being taken.

We further appeal to your ſelves, Gentlemen, to inform us, whether there be any particular Reaſon why you ſhould be allow'd the full Career of your corrupt Appetites, without the Reſtraint of Laws, while you your ſelves agree that ſuch Offences ſhall be puniſhed in us, and do really Execute the Law upon the poor People, when brought before you for the ſame Things.

Wherefore that the Work of Reformation of Manners may go on, and be brought to Perfection, to the Glory of God, and the great Honour of the King and Parliament: That Debauchery and Praphaneneſs, Drunkenneſs, Whoring, and all ſort of Immoralities may be ſuppreſs'd, we humbly propoſe the Method which may effectually accompliſh ſo great a Work.

(1.) That the Gentry and Clergy, who are the Leaders of us poor ignorant People, and our Lights erected on high Places to Guide and Govern us, would in the firſt Place put a voluntary Force upon themſelves, and effectually reform their own Lives, their way of Converſing, and their common Behaviour among their Servants and Neighbours.

1. The Gentry. They are the Original of the Modes, and Cuſtoms, and Manners of their Neighbours; and their Examples in *the Countries eſpecially* are very moving. There are three ſeveral Vices, which have the principal Management of the great-

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eſt part of Mankind, *viz.* Drunkenneſs, Swearing, and Whoring; all of them very ill becoming a Gentleman, however Cuſtom may have made them Modiſh: Where none of theſe Three are in a Houſe, there is certainly ſomething of a Plantation of God in the Family; for they are ſuch Epidemic Diſtempers, that hardly Humane Nature is entirely free from them.

1. Drunkenneſs that Brutiſh Vice; a *Sin* ſo ſordid, and ſo much a Force upon Nature, that had God Almighty enjoyn'd it as a Duty, I believe many a Man would have ventur'd the Loſs of Heaven, rather than have perform'd it. The *Pleaſure* of it ſeems to be ſo ſecretly hid, that wild Heathen Nations know nothing of the matter; tis only diſcover'd, by the wiſe people of theſe *Northern* Countries, who are *Proficients* in Vice, *Philoſophers* in Wickedneſs, who can extract a pleaſure to themſelves in loſing their Underſtanding, and make themſelves Sick at Heart for their Diverſion.

If the Hiſtory of this well bred Vice was to be written, 'twould plainly appear that it begun among the Gentry, and from them was handed down to the poorer ſort, who ſtill Love to be like their Betters. After the Reſtitution of King *Charles* the Second, when drinking the King's Health became the diſtinction between a *Cavalier* and a *Roundhead*, Drunkenneſs *began its Reign*, and it has Reign'd almoſt forty Years: The Gentry careſs'd this Beaſtly Vice at ſuch a Rate, that no Companion, no Servant was thought proper unleſs he could bear a Quantity of Wine: and to this Day 'tis added to the Character of a Man, as an additional Title, when you would ſpeak well of him, *He is an Honeſt Drunken Fellow*; as if his Drunkenneſs was a Recommendation of his Honeſty. From the practice of this naſty Faculty our Gentlemen have arriv'd to the teaching of it; and that it might be effectually preſerv'd to the next Age, have very early inſtructed the Youth in it. Nay, ſo far has Cuſtom prevail'd, that the Top of a Gentleman's

man's Entertainment has been to make his Friend Drunk; and the Friend is so much reconcil'd to it, that he takes that for the effect of his Kindness, which he ought as much to be affronted at, as if he had kick'd him down Stairs: Thus 'tis become a Science, and but that the Instruction proves so easie, and the Youth too apt to Learn, possibly we might have had a College erected for it before now. The further Perfection of this Vice among the Gentry, will appear in two things; that 'tis become the Subject of their Glory, and the way of expressing their Joy for any publick Blessing. *Jack*, said a Gentleman of very high Quality, when after the Debate in the House of Lords, King *William* was Voted into the Vacant Throne; *Jack* (says he) *God damn ye*, Jack *go home to your Lady, and tell her we have got a Protestant King and Queen, and go make a Bonfire as big as a House, and bid the Butler make ye all Drunk, ye Dog*; Here was sacrificing to the Devil, for a Thanksgiving to God. Other Vices are committed as Vices, and Men act them in private, and are willing to hide them; but Drunkenness they are so fond of, that they will glory in it, boast of it, and endeavour to promote it as much as possible in others: 'Tis a Triumph to a Champion of the Bottle, to repeat how many Quarts of Wine he has Drunk at a Sitting, and how he made such and such Honest Fellows Drunk. Men *Lye* and *Forswear*, and *hide it*, and are *asham'd of it*, as they have reason to do; But Drunkenness and Whoring are Accomplishments Men begin to value themselves upon, repeat them with Pleasure, and affect a sort of Vanity in the History; are content all the World should be Witnesses of their Intemperance, have made the Crime a Badge of Honour to their Breeding, and introduce the practice as a Fashion. Whoever gives himself the Trouble to reflect on the Custom of our Gentlemen in their Families, encouraging and promoting this Vice of Drunkenness, among the poor Commons, will not think it a Scandal upon the Gentry of *England*, if we say,

ſay, That the mode of Drinking, as 'tis now practiſed, had its Original from the Practice of the Country-Gentlemen, and they again from the Court.

It may be objected, and God forbid it ſhould not, That there are a great many of our Nobility and Gentlemen, who are Men of Honour and Men of Morals, and therefore this Charge is not Univerſal. To which we Anſwer, 'Tis Univerſal for all that; becauſe thoſe very Gentlemen, though they are negatively clear as to the Commiſſion of the Crimes we ſpeak of, yet are poſitively guilty in not executing that Power the Law has put into their Hands, with an Impartial Vigour. For where was that Gentleman or Juſtice of the Peace ever yet found, who executed the Terms of the Law upon a Drunken, Swearing, Lewd Gentleman, his Neighbour, but the Quality of the Perſon has been a Licence to the open Exerciſe of the worſt of Crimes; as if there were any Baronets, Knights, or Eſquires in the next World; who, becauſe of thoſe little Steps Cuſtom had raiſed them on, higher than their Neighbours, ſhould be exempted from the Divine Judicature; or that as Captain *Vratz* ſaid, who was Hang'd for Murth'ring Mr. *Thynn, God would ſhow them ſome Reſpect as they were Gentlemen.*

If there were any reaſon why a rich Man ſhould be permitted in the publick Exerciſe of open Immoralities, and not the poor Man, ſomething might be ſaid: But if there be any difference it lies the other way; for the Vices of a poor Man affect only himſelf; but the rich Man's Wickedneſs affects all the Neighbourhood, gives offence to the Sober, encourages and hardens the Lewd, and quite overthrows the weak Reſolutions of ſuch as are but indifferently fixed in their Virtue and Morality. If my own Watch goes falſe, it deceives me and none elſe; but if the Town Clock goes falſe, it deceives the whole Pariſh. The Gentry are the Leaders of the Mob; if they are Lewd and Drunken, the others ſtrive to imitate them; if they

diſcourage

discourage Vice and Intemperance, the other will not be so forward in it, nor so fond of it.

To think then to effect a Reformation by punishing the Poor, while the Rich seem to enjoy a Charter for Wickedness, is like *taking away the Effect, that the Cause may cease.*

We find some People very fond of Monopolizing a Vice, they would have all of it to themselves; they must, as my Lord *Rochester* said of himself, *Sin like a Lord*; little sneaking Sins won't serve turn; but they must be Lewd at a rate above the common size, to let the World see they are capable of it.

Our Laws seem to take no Cognizance of such, perhaps for the same reason that *Lycurgus* made no Law against *Parricide*, because he would not have the Sin named among his Citizens.

Now the poor Man sees now such Dignity in Vice, as to study Degrees; we are downright in Wickedness, as we are in our Dealings; if we are Drunk, 'tis plain Drunkenness; Swearing and Whoring, is all Blunderbus with us; we don't affect such Niceties in our Conversation; and the Justices use us accordingly; nothing but the Stocks, or the House of Correction is the Case when we are brought before them; but when our Masters, the Gentlemen, come to their refined Practice, and Sin by the Rules of Quality, we do not find any thing come of it but false Heraldry, the Vice is punish'd by the Vice, and the Punishment renews the Crime.

The Case in short is this; the Lewdness, Prophaneness and Immorality of the Gentry, which is the main cause of the general Debauchery of the Kingdom is not at all toucht by our Laws, as they are now Executed; and while it remains so, the Reformation of Manners can never be brought to pass, nor Prophaneness and Immorality suppress'd; and therefore the punishing the Poor distinctly, is a Mock upon the good Designs of the King and Parliament; an Act of Injustice upon

upon them to punish them, and let others as guilty go free; and a sort of Cruelty too, in taking the Advantage of their Poverty to make them Suffer, because they want Estates to purchase their Exemption.

We have some weak Excuses for this matter, which must be considered: As,

(1.) The Justice of the Peace is a *Passive Magistrate*, till an Information be brought before him, and is not to take notice of any thing, but as it is laid in Fact, and brought to an Affidavit. Now if an Affidavit be made before a Justice, that such or such a Man Swore or was Drunk, he must, or cannot avoid Fineing him; the Law obliges him to it, let his Quality be what it will; so that the Defect is not in the Law, nor in the Justice, but in the want of Information.

(2.) The Name of an Evidence or Informer is so scandalous, that to attempt to Inform against a Man for the most open Breach of the Laws of Morality, is enough to denominate a Man unfit for Society; a Rogue and an Informer are Synonimous in the Vulgar Acceptation; so much is the real Detection of the openest Crimes against God and Civil Government Discouraged and Avoided.

(3.) The Impossibility of the Cure is such, and the Habit has so obtain'd upon all Mankind, that it seems twisted with Human Nature, as an Appendix to Natural Frailty, which it is impossible to seperate from it.

For Answer;

1. 'Tis true; the Justice of the Peace is in some respect a *Passive Magistrate*, and does not act but by Information, but such Information would be brought if it were encouraged; if Justices of the Peace did acquaint

quaint themſelves with their Neighbourhood, they would ſoon hear of the Immoralities of the Pariſh; and if they did impartially execute the Law on ſuch as offended, without reſpect of Perſons, they would ſoon have an account of the Perſons and Circumſtances. Beſides, 'tis not want of Information, but want of puniſhing what they have Information of. A poor Man informs againſt a great Man, the Witneſs is diſcouraged, the Man goes unpuniſh'd, and the poor Man gets the Scandal of an Informer; and then 'tis but too often that our Juſtices are not Men of extraordinary Morals themſelves; and who ſhall inform a Juſtice of the Peace that ſuch a Man Swore, when he may be heard to Swear himſelf as faſt as another? Or who ſhall bring a Man before a Juſtice for being Drunk, when the Juſtice is ſo Drunk himſelf, he cannot order him to be ſet in the Stocks?

2. Beſides, the Juſtice has a Power to puniſh any Fact he himſelf ſees committed, and to enquire into any he hears of caſually; and if he will ſtand ſtill and ſee thoſe Acts of Immorality committed before his Face, who ſhall bring a poor Man before him to be puniſhed? Thus I have heard a Thouſand horrid Oaths ſworn on a Bowling-Green, in the Preſence of a Juſtice of the Peace, and he take no notice of it, and go home the next hour, and ſet a Man in the Stocks for being Drunk.

As to the Scandal of Informing, *'tis an Error in Cuſtom*, and a great Sin againſt Juſtice; 'tis neceſſary indeed that all Judgment ſhould be according to Evidence, and to diſcourage Evidence is to diſcourage Juſtice; but that a Man in Trial of the Morality of his Neighbour, ſhould be aſhamed to appear, muſt have ſome particular Cauſe.

(1.) It proceeds from the modiſhneſs of the Vice; it has ſo obtain'd upon ſome Men's Practice, that to appear

appear againſt almoſt what all Men approve, ſeems Malicious, and has a certain proſpect either of Revenge or of a Mercenary Wretch, that Informs meerly to get a Reward. 'Tis true, if no Reward be plac'd upon an Information, no Man will take the trouble; and again, if too great a Reward, Men of Honour ſhun the thing, becauſe they ſcorn the Fee, and to Inform meerly for the Fee, has ſomething of a Raſcal in it too; and from theſe Reaſons ariſes the Backwardneſs of the People.

The very ſame Rich Men we ſpeak of are the Perſons who diſcourage the Diſcovery of Vice by ſcandalizing the Informer; a Man that is any thing of a Gentleman ſcorns it, and the Poor ſtill Mimick the Humour of the Rich, and hate an Informer as they do the Devil. 'Tis ſtrange the Gentleman ſhould be aſham'd to detect the Breach of thoſe Laws, which they were not aſham'd to make, but the very Name of an Informer has gain'd ſo black an Idea in the Minds of People, becauſe ſome who have made a Trade of informing againſt People for Religion, have misbehaved themſelves, that truly 'twill be hard to bring any Man either of Credit or Quality to attempt it.

But the main thing which makes our Gentlemen backward in the proſecution of Vice, is their practiſing the ſame Crimes themſelves; and they have ſo much wicked Modeſty and Generoſity in them, being really no Enemies to the thing it ſelf that they cannot with any ſort of Freedom puniſh in others what they practice themſelves.

In the Times of Executing the Laws againſt Diſſenters, we found a great many Gentlemen very Vigorous in Proſecuting their Neighbours; they did not ſtick to appear in Perſon to diſturb *Meetings*, and demoliſh the *Meeting-Houſes*, and rather than fail, would

be Informers themſelves; the Reaſon was becauſe they had alſo a diſlike to the thing; but we never found a Diſſenting Gentleman, or Juſtice of the Peace forward to do thus, becauſe they approved of it. Now were our Gentlemen and Magiſtrates real Enemies to the Immoralities of this Age, did they really hate Drunkenneſs as a Vice, they would be forward and zealous to root the Practice of it out of the Neighbourhood, they would not be backward or aſham'd to detect Vice, to diſturb Drunken Aſſemblies, to diſperſe thoſe Plantations of Leachery, the publick Bawdy Houſes, which are almoſt as openly allowed as the *Burdelloes* in *Italy*. They would be willing to have all ſorts of Vices ſuppreſs'd, and glory in putting their Hands to the Work; they would not be aſham'd to appear in the detecting Debauchery, or afraid to embroil themſelves with their Rich Neighbours. 'Tis Guilt of the ſame Fact which makes Connivance, and till that Guilt be removed, the Gentlemen of *England* neither will, or can indeed with any kind of Honour, put their Hands to the Reforming it in their Neighbours.

But I think 'tis eaſie to make it appear that this difficulty of Informing may be removed, and there need not be much occaſion for that Scandalous Employment.

'Tis in the Power of the Gentry of *England* to Reform the whole Kingdom without either Laws, Proclamations, or Informers; and without their Concurrence, all the Laws, Proclamations, and Declarations in the World will have no Effect; the Vigour of the Laws conſiſts in their Executive Power: Ten thouſand Acts of Parliament ſignifie no more than one ſingle Proclamation, unleſs the Gentlemen in whoſe Hands the Execution of thoſe Laws is placed, take care to ſee them duly made uſe of; and how can Laws be duly Executed, but by an Impartial Diſtribution of equal Rewards,

and

and Punishments, without Regard to the Quality and Degree of the Persons? The Laws push on the Justices now, and they take care to go no faster than they are driven; but would the Justices push on the Laws, Vice would fly before them, as Dust in the Wind, and Immoralities would be soon suppress'd; but it can never be expected that the Magistrates should push on the Laws to a free Suppression of Immoralities, till they Reform themselves, and their Great Neighbours Reform themselves, that there may be none to Punish, who are too big for the Magistrate to venture upon.

Would the Gentry of *England* decry the Modishness of Vice by their own Practice; would they but dash it out of Countenance by disowning it; that Drunkenness and Oaths might once come into *disesteem*, and be out of Fashion, and a Man be valued the less for them; that he that will Swear and be Drunk, shall be counted a Rake, and not fit for a Gentleman's Company. This would do more to Reforming the rest of Mankind than all the Punishments the Law can inflict; the Evil encreased by Example, and must be suppress'd the same way. If the Gentry were thus Reform'd, their Families would be so too: No Servant would be Entertain'd, no Workman Employed, no Shopkeeper would be Traded with by a Gentleman, but such as like themselves, were sober and honest; a Lewd Vicious Drunken Footman must Reform or Starve, he would get no Service; a Servant once turn'd away for his Intemperance would be Entertain'd by no Body else; a Swearing Debauch'd Labourer or Workman must Reform, or no Body would Employ him; the Drunken, Whoring, Shopkeeper must grow Sober or lose all his Customers, and be undone. Interest and Good Manners will reform us of the poorer sort, there would be no need of the Stocks or Houses of Correction; we should be Sober of Course, because we should be all Beggars

elſe; and he that loved the Vice ſo dearly as to purchaſe it with the loſs of his Trade and Employment, would ſoon grow too Poor for his Vice, and be forc'd to leave it by his own Neceſſities; there would be no need of Informers, a Vicious Fellow would be preſently Notorious, he would be the Talk of the Town, every one wou'd ſlight and ſhun him for fear of being thought like him, by being ſeen in his Company; he would Expoſe himſelf, and would be Puniſh'd as unpitied as a Thief.

So that in ſhort the whole Weight of this Bleſſed Work of Reformation, lies on the Shoulders of the Gentry; they are the Cauſe of our Defection, which being taken away, the Effect would ceaſe of Courſe, Vice would grow ſcandalous, and all Mankind would be aſham'd of it.

(2.) The Clergy alſo ought not to count themſelves exempted in this matter, whoſe Lives have been, and in ſome places ſtill are ſo vicious and ſo looſe, that 'tis well for *England*, we are not ſubject to be much *Prieſt-ridden*.

'Tis a ſtrange thing how it ſhould be otherwiſe than it is with us the poor Commonalty, when the Gentry our Pattern, and the Clergy our Teachers are as Immoral as we. And then to conſider the Coherence of the thing; *the Parſon preaches a thundering Sermon againſt Drunkenneſs, and the Juſtice of Peace ſets my poor Neighbour in the Stocks, and I am like to be much the better for either, when I know perhaps that this ſame Parſon and this ſame Juſtice were both Drunk together the Night before.*

It may be true, for ought we know, that a Wicked Parſon may make a good Sermon; and the *Spaniſh* Proverb may be true of the Soul as well as the Body.

If

If the Cure be but wrought, let the Devil be the Doctor; but this does not take with the down-right Ignorant People in the Country; a poor Man gets Drunk in a Country Ale House, *Why, are not you asham'd to be such a Beast, says a good honest Neighbour to him the next day?* Asham'd, says the Fellow! Why should I be asham'd? Why, there was Sir *John* —— and Sir *Robert* —— and the Parson, and they were all as Drunk as I. And why a Beast, Pray? I heard Sir *Robert* —— say, That

He that Drinks least,
Drinks most like a Beast.

A Vicious Parson that preaches well, but lives ill, may be like an unskilful Horseman, who opens a Gate on the wrong side, and lets other Folks through, but thuts himself out. This may be possible, but it seems most reasonable to think they are a means by that sort of living, to hinder both themselves and others; and would the Gentry and Clergy of *England* but look back on the Guilt that really lies on them, as Gentlemen by whose Example so great a part of Mankind has been led into, and encourag'd in the Progress of Vice, they would find Matter of very serious reflection.

This Article of the Clergy may seem to lie in the Power of their Superiors to rectify, and therefore may be something more feasible than the other; But the Gentry are *Sui juris*, and can no way be reduc'd but by their own voluntary practice. We are in *England* exceedingly govern'd by Modes and Customs. The Gentry may effectually Suppress Vice, would they but put it out of Fashion; but to suppress it by Force seems impossible.

The Application of this rough Doctrine is, in short, both to the Gentry and Clergy, *Physitians Heal your*

ſelves; if you leave off your Drunkenneſs and Lewdneſs firſt, if we do not follow you, then ſet us in the Stocks, and ſend us to the Houſe of Correction, and puniſh us as you pleaſe; if you will leave off Whoring firſt, then Brand us in the Foreheads, or Tranſport or Hang us for Fornication or Adultery, and you are welcome; but to preach againſt Drunkenneſs immediately after an Evening's Debauch; to Correct a poor Fellow for Swearing with the very Vice in your Mouth; theſe are the unjuſteſt ways in the World, and have in themſelves no manner of tendency towards the Reformation of Manners, which is the true Deſign of the Law.

'Tis acknowledg'd there are in *England* a great many Sober, Pious, Religious Perſons both among the Gentry and Clergy, and 'tis hop'd ſuch cannot think themſelves Libell'd or Injur'd in this *Plea*; if there were not, Laws would never have been made againſt thoſe Vices, for no Men make Laws to puniſh themſelves; 'tis deſign'd to reflect upon none but ſuch as are Guilty, and on them no farther than to put them in mind how much the Nation owes its preſent Degeneracy to their folly, and how much it is in their *Power* to Reform it again by their Example; that the King may not publiſh *Proclamations*, nor the *Parliament* make Laws to no purpoſe; but that we might live in *England* once more like Chriſtians, and like Gentlemen, to the Glory of God, and the Honour of the preſent King and Parliament, who ſo publickly have attempted the Great Work of Reformation among us, tho' hitherto to ſo little purpoſe.

An Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters, in *Cases of Preferment.*

PREFACE to Mr. *HOW.*

SIR,

THese Sheets are addres'd to you, because the Author, with Submission, thinks they something more nearly concern you, than ordinary:

1. *As you are, not unjustly, esteem'd one of the most Learned and Judicious of the Dissenting Ministry. And*

2. *As you have more immediate Relation to our present Lord-Mayor, who is, or has been a Member of the Church of Christ under your Charge.*

The Author has carefully avoided Personal Reflections, and hopes he has no where exceeded the Rules of Charity or Good Manners.

The Treatise is individually the same which the Author publish'd in the Mayoralty of Sir Humphry Edwin; *the Address, by way of Preface, being only left out.*

The Debate was then young, and the Practice of this Scandalous Conformity was new: Sir John Shorter *being the first Instance of it. But it is now growing a receiv'd Custom, to the great Scandal of the Dissenters in general, the Offence of such whose Consciences forbid them the same Latitude, and the Stumbling of those who being before weak and*

and irresolute, are led aside by the Eminency and Frequency of Examples,

Sir, *If you knew the Author, you would easily be satisfied that the Reason of this Preface, is not that he covets to engage in Controversy with a Person of your Capacity and Learning, being altogether unfit for such a Task, and no way a Match to your Talent that way.*

But he desires, in the Name of himself, and a great many honest good Christians, who would be glad to see this Case decided, That you will by your self, or some other Hand, as you please, declare to the World, Whether this Practice of Alternate Communion be allow'd, either by your Congregation in particular, or the Dissenters in general.

And if not so allow'd, then he conjures you by the Honour you owe to your Profession, and the Tenderness you have for the weakness of others; by the regard you have to God's Honour, and the Church you serve, That such Proceedings may receive their due Censure, tho' the Persons wear the Gay Cloaths and the Gold Ring; that the Sincerity and Purity of Dissenting Protestants may be vindicated to the World both in their Discipline as well as Doctrine; and that without Respect of Persons.

If on the other hand it be allow'd, 'tis desired it may be defended by such Arguments as you think convenient; which the Author promises, if desired, never to reply to; or if you give him that Liberty, shall do it so, as you shall easily see is in order only to be inform'd, and always suitable to the Respect which is due to your Person; for whom none has a greater Esteem.

If none of these Requests shall be granted, the World must believe, That Dissenters do allow themselves to Practise what they cannot Defend.

Your very Humble Servant,

D. F.

A

A Diſcourſe upon Occaſional Conformity.

WHEN I review the paſt Times, and look back upon the various Scenes which they preſent us, as to Eccleſiaſtical Tranſactions within this Kingdom, there ſeems nothing more ſtrange than the Turns we have had from Popiſh to Regal Supremacy, from the *Romiſh* Religion to reform'd, from reform'd back again to *Romiſh*, and then to reform'd again, and ſo on thro' ſeveral Degrees of Reformation, and back again from thoſe Degrees to the firſt Steps of Reformation, and then forward again.

King *Henry* the Eighth, a Prince of a haughty Spirit, diſdaining the Inſolence with which his Predeceſſors were treated by the Popes, gave the firſt Shock to the *Roman* Power in theſe Kingdoms. I won't ſay he acted from any Principles of Conſcience, whatever his Ambition and Intereſt led him to pretend; but *that* was the Gloſs, as it is in moſt Caſes of publick Revolutions. *However it was*, having ſatisfy'd his Pride by ſubduing the Supremacy of the Pope, and eſtabliſhing his own; his Intereſt next guided him to the Suppreſſion of Abbies and Monaſteries. The horrible Vices which were protected, as well as practiſed in thoſe Neſts of Superſtition, giving his pretence of Piety the larger Scope; and I'll for once be ſo free with the Character of that Prince, as to ſuppoſe what to me ſeems plain, that *neither This Religion, or That, were of much Moment in his Thoughts, but his Intereſt*, as the Sequel made plain, by the Seizure he made of the Revenues of the Church.

And

And yet the Juſtice of Providence ſeems very conſpicuous in that point, That thoſe Houſes, who under the ſpecious pretences of Religion, and extraordinary Devotion, had amaſſed to themſelves vaſt Revenues to the Impoveriſhing many Families, and in the mean time ſecretly practiſed moſt unheard of Wickedneſs, ſhould under the ſame pretence of Zeal and Piety be ſuppreſſed and impoveriſhed by a Perſon, who meerly to ſerve his own Glory, triumph'd over them, pretending *Jehu* like, *to ſhew his Zeal for the Lord.*

Some do aſſure us, That the Eyes of this Prince were really open'd as to the Point of Religion; and that had he liv'd longer, he would moſt effectually have eſtabliſh'd the Reformation in his time; but God who gave him that light, *if he had it*, however he might accept his Intention, as he did that of *David*'s Building his Houſe, yet he reſerv'd the Glory of the performance to his Son.

King *Edward* the Sixth, of whom wondrous Things are ſpoken in all our *Engliſh* Writers, and more than we need ſuppoſe ſhould be literally true; yet was without doubt, a Prince of the ſtricteſt Piety, not only that ever reign'd, but that ever liv'd, perhaps, ſince the Days of *Joſiah*, whoſe Parallel our Writers ſay he was.

The Reformation began in his Hand; not but that the Proteſtant Religion had been received in *England* many Years before, by the preaching of *John Wickliff*, *William Tindall*, and others, and had many Profeſſors, and thoſe ſuch who gallantly offered their Lives in defence of the Truth.

But it got but little ground, for Religion has but few Votaries, while all its Profeſſors muſt alſo be Confeſſors, and while Exile or Martyrdom is all the proſpect of Advantage to be got by it. None

None will dare to be Diſſenters in times of Danger, but ſuch whoſe Conſciences are ſo awaken'd that they dare not be otherwiſe.

But in the Hands of this young Prince, the great Work was begun, and in a ſhorter time than could be imagin'd, was finiſh'd and eſtabliſh'd, the *Romaniſts* fled or conformed; for we find but very few had an Inclination to Martyrdom if it had been put upon them: Some indeed to ſhow the Nature of their Religion, *Pleaded for* Baal, *and Rebell'd*, ſtirring up the Ignorant People to Murther their *Gideon* for throwing down the *Altars of* Baal, but like the *Ephramites* of old, their *Shiboleth* was their undoing.

God, who thought fit to diſcover the Levity of thoſe who had only Conform'd, and not Reform'd, who, *in exemplum Regis*, took up this as they would have done any Religion, and alſo for the Trial and Glory of his Church, ſuffer'd all this great Fabrick, *however of his own Working*, to be overthrown at the Death of this good King, and a Deluge of Cruelty and Popery overwhelm'd the People in the Reign of the Queen, his Siſter.

But *Popery* found more Diſſenters than the Reformation had done; and the Impreſſion Religion had made on the Minds of thoſe who had ſincerely Embrac'd it, was not ſo eaſily Defac'd as the pretended Reformation of others; for the Gloſſes Men had put on their Actions, only as a cover from common Obſervation, was ſoon Diſcover'd, when the Safety of owning their own Principles render'd thoſe Outſides no longer needful, but where the true Religion had got footing in the Mind, it was ſtill the ſame, whatever Alterations of Times might make it Dangerous, *and yet all People did not Burn*; but ſome being perſecuted in one City, fled

to

to another, and *Germany* especially was a Sanctuary for the Distressed *English* Protestants, that Country having been before-hand with us in the Reformation.

'Twas here that our Exil'd Clergy having convers'd with the Learned Reformers abroad, and particularly with *John Calvin*, found, that tho' they were reform'd indeed from the Gross Errors of Popery and Superstition, there was yet several Things which might be further and further Reform'd; and being willing to arrive to the greatest Perfection they were capable of in Religion, (that as near as possible they might pursue the great Example of Christ Jesus, whose Name they profess'd, and for whom they could most gloriously die) they Corrected in themselves those Things which they saw needful, and by Letters to their Brethren in *England* communicated their Opinions, with their Reasons, exhorting them to go on unto Perfection as they had begun.

Some of the most Zealous for Piety and Holiness of Life, rejected this Motion; and others as Zealous and Pious, clos'd with it; and the Disputes were carried so far sometimes, as to Invade the Charity of one another, an humble Acknowledgment of which you have in a most Christian Reconciling Letter from Bishop *Ridley* to Bishop *Hooper*, two of the most glorious Triumphant Martyrs that ever confest the truth of Christ at the Stake.

For the present, the Fire of the Persecution (as the greater Light obscures the less, extinguish'd that of Dissention. But when Queen *Elizabeth* rescu'd the Protestant Religion, and the Church enjoy'd its Peace again, the debate reviv'd: But the first Establishment of King *Edward* obtain'd so on the Minds of Men, that the further Reformation was rejected. The other Party being not at all convinc'd, though over-rul'd, submitted

their

their Persons to the Laws, but not their Opinion; affirming, "That 'twas the Duty of every Christian, "to endeavour to serve God with the greatest "Purity of Worship as was possible; and that this "was the purest Worship which came neareſt to "the Divine Institution, which they believ'd the esta-"blish'd Liturgy did not, and therefore in Conscience "they must be Dissenters.

It must be own'd, That the Original Authors of these Disputes were Learned, Devout, and singularly Pious, strict in Conversation to Excess, *if that be possible*, and from thence in a sort of happy Derision, were call'd *Puritans*; of whom I shall say nothing, but leave for a Record the last Speech of a Famous Foreigner, who had seen the way of living among those Dissenters, and speaking of the Words of *Balaam, Let me Die the Death of the Righteous, and let my latter end be like his*, cry'd Out,

Sit Anima Mea cum Puritanis Anglicanis.

I shall not take upon me to observe the Difference between these Primitive Dissenters and Our Present, which is too plain; nor to dispute the Substance of the Point in Debate between them and the Establisht National Church.

I shall only observe, That the Reasons for the present Dissenters Separation from the Establisht Church, are said to be exactly the same they were then; and the present Dissenters are the Successors of those first, as the present Conformists are the Successors of the first Reformers under King *Edward* the Sixth, and Queen *Elizabeth*.

I must acknowledge that it fares with the Church of *England*, and with the Dissenters both, as it has always

always far'd with Christ's Church in the whole World; That while Suppreſt and Perſecuted, their Profeſſors were few, and their Profeſſion more ſevere; but when a Religion comes to be the Mode of the Country, ſo many painted Hypocrites get into the Church who are not by their Faces to be diſtinguiſh'd, that Guile is not to be ſeen, till it arrive to Apoſtacy. The whole Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, from the firſt Century of the Chriſtian Church, is full of Inſtances to confirm this, That the Proſperity of the Church of Chriſt has been more fatal to it, than all the Perſecution of its Enemies.

I am now brought down to the preſent Time, when the *Diſſenting Proteſtant* is ſheltered by the Laws and protected from the Violence which he ſuffered in the Late Reigns, under the Arbitrary Commands of ſuch State Miniſters, who ſtrove to daſh the whole Proteſtant Intereſt to pieces by its own weight; and nothing is more apparent to thoſe who are any thing acquainted with the late Management of Affairs in this Land, than that the Court uſed both Parties alternately, as Policy and Occaſion directed, to Suppreſs and Deſtroy one another; that the whole Houſe, *which being ſo divided, cou'd not ſtand*, might at laſt fall of it ſelf.

But our Eyes are at laſt opened, the Name of Proteſtant is now the common Title of an *Engliſhman*, the Church of *England* extends her Protection to the tender Conſciences of her Weaker Brethren, knowing that all may be Chriſtians, tho' not alike inform'd, and the Diſſenter extends his Charity to the Church of *England*, believing that in his due time, *God ſhall reveal even this unto them.* If this is not, I wiſh this were the Temper of both Parties; and I am ſure it is already the Temper of ſome of each ſide, which few are of the wiſeſt, moſt Pious, and moſt Judicious.

But

But while Frailty and Infirmity are Eſſential to Humanity, and Pride and Hypocriſy are the two Regnant Vices of the Church, this good Spirit cannot be Univerſal, and we do not expect it.

But there is a ſort of Truth, which all Men owe to the Principles they profeſs, and generally ſpeaking, all Men pay it; a *Turk* is a *Turk* zealouſly and entirely; an *Idolater* is an *Idolater*, and will *ſerve the Devil to a tittle*: None but Proteſtants halt between *God* and *Baal*; Chriſtians of an Amphibious Nature, who have ſuch prepoſterous Conſciences, as can believe one Way of Worſhip to be right, and yet ſerve God another way themſelves? *This is a ſtrange thing in Iſrael!* All the Hiſtories of Religion in the World do not ſhew ſuch a Caſe: 'Tis like a Ship with her Sails hal'd ſome back and ſome full: 'Tis like a Workman that Builds with one Hand, and pulls down with t'other: 'Tis like a Fiſherman, who catches Fiſh with one Hand, and throws them into the Sea with another: 'Tis like every thing which ſignifies nothing. To ſay a Man can be of two Religions, is a Contradiction, unleſs there be two Gods to Worſhip, or he has two Souls to ſave.

Religion is the ſacred Profeſſion of the Name of God; *ſerving him, believing in him, expecting from him*; and like the God it refers to, 'tis in one and the ſame Object, one and the ſame thing perfectly indiviſible and inſeparable; there is in it no Neuter Gender, no Ambiguous Article, *God or Baal*; Mediums are impoſſible.

As to the different Modes and Ways, which are the Circumſtantials of this Sacred Thing I call Religion; I won't ſay, but that as Ships take different Courſes at Sea, yet to the beſt of their Skill keeping to the direct Rules of Navigating by the Compaſs, they may arrive at the ſame Port; ſo Chriſtians taking different Methods in the ſerving this God, yet going to the beſt of their Judgments by the direct Rules of the Scripture, may arrive at the ſame Heaven; *but this is nothing at all to the Caſe*; for no Ship would arrive at any Port that ſailed two ways together, *if that were poſſible*; nor no man can ſerve One

God, and at the same time hold two Opinions. There is but one Best, and he that gives God *two Bests*, gives him the Best and the Worst, and one Spoils t'other, till both are good for nothing.

I have said already, that both the Church of *England*, and the Dissenter, suffer in their Reputation for the mixt Multitudes of their Members, which is occasion'd by their present Prosperity: If a Third Party were to Tyrannize over them both, we should see then who were *Professors*, and who were *Confessors*; but now it cannot be: Wherefore, I think 'twere well to put both Sides in mind of one thing, which they are bound mutually to observe; and that is, That *the Personal Miscarriages of any particular Person or Member, is not really any Reflection upon the Religion they profess*, nor ought not to be so accounted, unless it be where such Miscarriages are the direct Dictates of the Doctrines they teach; and thus I would be understood in the present Case. Wherefore I shall give my Essay as to what I understand a Real Dissenting *Protestant* is, or ought to be.

He who Dissents from an Establish'd Church on any account, but from a real Principle of Conscience, is a Politick, not a Religious Dissenter. To explain my self; He who Dissents from any other Reasons, but such as these, That he firmly believes the said Established Church is not of the purest Institution, but that he can really serve God more agreeable to his Will, and that accordingly 'tis his Duty to do it so, *and no otherwise.* Nay, he that cannot Dye, or at least desire to do so, rather than Conform, *ought to Conform. Schism* from the Church of Christ is, doubtless, a great Sin, and if I can avoid it, I ought to avoid it, but if not, the Cause of that Sin carries the Guilt with it.

But if I shall thus Dissent, and yet at the same time Conform; by Conforming I deny my Dissent being lawful, or by my Dissenting I damn my Conforming as sinful.

Nothing can be lawful and unlawful at the same time; if it be not lawful for me to Dissent, I ought to Conform; but if it be unlawful for me to Conform, I must Dissent;

several

ſeveral Opinions may at the ſame time conſiſt in a Country, in a City, in a Family, but not in one entire Perſon, *that is impoſſible.*

To come to the point; there are Diſſenters who are ſeparated from the Church of *England*, and join'd in Communion with Diſſenting Churches or Congregations. They have apear'd Zealous, Conſcientious, and Conſtant; have born the Reproaches and Inconveniences of their Party, nay, ſuffer'd Perſecution, and Loſs of Eſtates and Liberty for the Cauſe: And who could have ſo little Charity as to doubt the Sincerity of their Profeſſion? And yet theſe Perſecuted, Suffering Diſſenters, to make themſelves room in the Publick Advancements, and Glittering Gawdy Honours of the Age, ſhall Conform to that which they refus'd under all thoſe Diſadvantages to do before. And which is worſe than all this; hear O Heavens! as ſoon as the preſent Honour is attain'd, the preſent Advantage made, they return to the former Circumſtances again, and are freely receiv'd, *a double Crime*, as having done no Evil.

I know not, I profeſs, what theſe Perſons can ſay for themſelves, and therefore cannot pretend to Anſwer their Objections; but I cannot omit one Anſwer which ſome People give for them, *viz. That this is no Conformity in Point of Religion, but done as a Civil Action*, in Obedience to the Laws of the Land, which have made it a neceſſary Characteriſtick Quality, for admittance into publick Employments, which they think it their Duty to accept in order to ſerve their Country, which they doubly perform by Executing thoſe Offices to the publick Intereſt, and by excluding thoſe who would otherwiſe get into thoſe places, and betray their Country and their Liberties.

I have never met with any conſiderable Excuſe made for this faſt and looſe Game of Religion, but this, and this I deſire to conſider a little particularly.

1. *That this is no Conformity in Point of Religion, but done as a Civil Action.* How this can be poſſible remains to be determined. 'Tis true, the Morality of an Action

consists in its End; but I cannot conceive that an Action purely and originally Religious, such as the Solemn Ordinances of God's Worship, can be made Civil Actions by any End, Design, Will, or Intention of Man whatsoever. 'Tis true, an Oath, which is a calling God to witness, is an Action both Civil and Religious, but still that was appointed and instituted to that end, as is expresly noted, *Heb.*

Naaman's bowing in the House of *Rimmon*; to which the Prophet answered, *Go in Peace*, which is understood as a permission, is a thing still different; for *Naaman* only bowed for the Conveniency or State of the King, at the same time publickly disowning the Worship, as *Interpreters are of Opinion*; besides, bowing the Head, tho' it may be a customary Act of Worship at that place, yet is no Act confin'd to Worship only, and instituted and directed so by the God who is Worshipped, but is an Act us'd in Common Salutations. Thus we kneel to God and to the King; but Sacraments are things appropriated by the Divine Institution of God himself, as things which have no other Signification or Import but what is Divine: Had *Naaman* desir'd to be excused in offering Sacrifices to the Idol *Rimmon*, the Prophet would hardly have bid him go in peace. Some Actions are not Civil or Religious, as they are Civilly or Religiously perform'd, but as they are Civil or Religious in themselves; for some Religious Actions are so entirely such, that they cannot without a horrid invasion of the Soveraignty of the Institutor be appropriated to any other use; and such are in especial manner, the Two Sacraments instituted by Christ, such was, before Christ, the Sacrifices by Fire; And the Judgements of God on *Nadab* and *Abihu*, for attempting to offer Sacrifice with strange Fire, stands as a terrible Instance of what we ought to think is the Will of God in this matter.

Further, speaking directly of the Sacraments, are they not the same thing, tho' differently administred in the establish'd Church, or in a dissenting Church? and how can you take it as a Civil Act in one place, and a Religious Act in another?

ther? This is *playing-Bopeep* with God Almighty, and no Man can tell of them when they are about a Civil Action, and when about a Religious. But to answer this pretence at once, Sacraments as Sacraments are Religious Acts, and can be no other, if you do not take it as a Sacrament the Case differs, but how can you say you do not take it as a Sacrament? An Oath is to be taken in the Sense of the Imposer, and a Sacrament, which is a Recognition of the most Sacred of Oaths, must be also taken in the Sense of the Imposer. If the Person Administring declar'd at the Administration, *He did not give it as a Sacrament, but only give you a bit of Bread and draught of Wine as a Friend*, or the like, this was something; but can a Minister deliver the Bread to you, and say, *The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ*, &c. and you Kneeling with Reverence take it as such, and repeat the Responses at the Communion, and say *Amen* to the Prayer, and say 'tis a Civil Action. This is such Bantering with Religion, as no Modest Christian can think of without Horror.

2. Another part of the Apology is, that without it they cannot be admitted into Publick places of Trust; and if they were not admitted, such will get in as will betray their Country and Liberties, and they do it purely to secure their Country, which they think their Duty.

These are Patriots indeed, that will *damn their Souls to save their Countrey*; a sort of a Publick Spirit hardly to be found in the World, and indeed a Non-entity in it self, for 'tis a Mistake; the Gentlemen who make this Answer put the case wrong. For I would desire such to Answer a few Questions.

If the Service of their Country be so dear to them, pray why should they not chuse to expose their Bodies and Estates for that Service, rather than their Souls?

The Penalty of the Law in accepting the Publick Employments is wholly Pecuniary, the difference lies here, *they chuse the Trespassing on their Consciences, before the hazard of their Estates*, as the least Evil; for 'tis plain, any Man who will suffer the Penalty, or run the Risque of it, which is all one, may excuse the Conformity; for the

Lord does not ſay, you ſhall ſo and ſo Conform, but if you do not Conform, you ſhall incur ſuch and ſuch Penalties; any Man that will incur the Penalty, may commit the Treſpaſs.

So that all this Compliance is not, To be admitted to Places, that they may be able to ſerve their Country, but to ſave the Five hundred pounds and other Penalties of that Act.

2. Why, if we believe the Power of God to be Omnipotent, ſhould we imagine that he is not able to protect our Country and Liberties, without our perpetrating ſo wicked an Act to ſecure them, *as doing Evil that Good may come*, which is expreſly forbidden.

But we are told again, this is in it ſelf no Sinful Act, and therefore it is not doing Evil. This is tacitly anſwered before; tho' 'tis not a Sinful Act in it ſelf, *Yet 'tis either a Sinful Act in a Diſſenter, or elſe his Diſſenting before was a Sinful Act.* For if he is ſatisfied he does well in Conforming now, why did he not before? There is but one Anſwer for that, which is, He is otherwiſe convinced; to which I reply, If that were true, he would then as a Convert continue in this New Communion; but 'tis evident the ſame Perſons return immediately to the former Profeſſion as Diſſenters, and they can have no ſuch Excuſe, unleſs it be, that they were convinc'd and reconvinc'd, and then convinc'd again.

Some have the Folly to argue againſt the Law it ſelf, as a moſt Notorious Impoſition upon the Conſciences of Men, by making the Sacred Inſtitutions of Chriſt a Drudge to Secular *Intereſt*, and a Cauſe of mens Sins, by leading them into Temptation; I could ſay enough to vindicate that part, tho' I am no more reconcil'd to that Law than other Men, but 'tis remote to our Argument: 'Tis an Act of Parliament, and what is ſo, is of every Man's own doing, and therefore 'tis juſt every one ſhou'd comply with the Terms, or ſuffer the Penalty; but here is no *Penalty*, if no Crime; *if no Preferments are ſought, no Honours accepted, there is no Crime*; if Self-denial was as practicable as Self-advancement, here is no need of the *Crime*.

So

So that they who do this, *ſeek the Crime, that is the firſt Sin; then Morgage their Conſciences to avoid the Penalty*, and ſo add one Sin to another. But we are told by ſome, 'tis not againſt their *Conſciences*, they hope both *Parties* are Good *Chriſtians*, there are differences between them which they don't underſtand nor meddle with, and their Conſciences are very well ſatisfied to Communicate with either.

I would ask ſuch, if their Conſciences would ſerve to Communicate with the Church, why did they Separate? For Communicating with the *Diſſenter*, is not an Occaſional or Caſual thing, but an open declar'd breaking off from the *Church* Eſtabliſht. Now no Man can be ſaid to ſeparate from, and joyn to a thing at the ſame time; if your Conſcience is ſatisfied in Joyning, it cannot be ſatisfied in Separating, unleſs you can ſuppoſe your Conſcience to be ſatisfied and diſſatisfied both together. If you have a Conſcience of any Religion at all, it muſt be of ſome Religion or other; if of this, it cannot be of that, if of that, it cannot be of this; to Conſent and Approve, are different Acts, and can never be fixt upon the ſame Object at the ſame time; as for a Man, Paſſively Religious, that can Communicate any where, that Man may from the ſame Principle, and with far leſs Guilt Communicate no where, for ſuch a Man, in down-right *Engliſh*, has Proſtituted the little Religion he had, *if ever he had any*, to his Intereſt, and may be *Turk*, *Jew*, *Papiſt*, or any thing.

The latter part of the Charge leads me to conſider another Point, which relates to the Aſſemblies of the Diſſenters, who admit, and by conſequence approve this way of proceeding. I do not pretend to examine by what Methods ſuch particular Churches do proceed. And I would be as tender as poſſible in making Reflections. I wiſh they would be as Charitable in cenſuring this Reproof.

I do think, with Submiſſion, 'tis impoſſible to prove that any Perſon, whoſe Caſe the foregoing Paragraph reaches, can be receiv'd again into Church-Communion in

a Diſſenting Aſſembly upon any other Terms, *than as a Penitent*. I have heard of ſome, who have been ſaid to have leave from their Miniſters for this Matter; *if ſo*, they have aſſum'd ſome *Diſpenſing Authority*, which I believe does not appertain to the Miniſterial Function, nor is not contain'd in the Miſſion of our Saviour. But I do not affirm, That any ſuch thing has been really allow'd.

As to the Relation of Churches, and the Members thereof, one to another, as the Diſſenters now Eſtabliſh'd them; I am ſure, the allowance of any Member in a Promiſcuous Communion with the Church of *England* and the Diſſenter at the ſame time, is not pretended to be allow'd, nor is it conſiſtent with it ſelf. 'Tis Prepoſterous, and Excentrick, and is Deſtructive of the very Foundation of the Diſſenters Principles, as is already noted, concerning Schiſms in the Church. In this Caſe, Charity can heal nothing, nor help nothing; 'tis of abſolute neceſſity that one Man be but of one ſide, at one and the ſame time. Either the Conformiſt will mar the Diſſenter, or the Diſſenter will mar the Conformiſt. For if I ſhall be admitted into the Communion of the Diſſenter, and of the Church together; then the Diſſenter muſt have ſome other Reaſon for being a Diſſenter, than Purity of Worſhip.

Methinks Men ſhould ſeem what they are; if a Man Diſſent from the Church, let him do ſo; and his Principle being well grounded for ſuch Diſſent, let him hold it; if not well-grounded, let him leave it; if he cannot ſuffer one way, let him ſuffer another; and why ſhould we not be as honeſt to God as our Country.

The Motives to ſerve our Country are ſtrong, but there are ways to do it without ſuch a Violation of all our Principles and Profeſſion; if not, truſt God's Providence with the Iſſue, who never wants Agents to preſerve and deliver his People when his time is at hand; and you can have ſmall hope to expect that the Office and Truſt you ſhall Execute, ſhall receive any Aſſiſtance from his Providence, when the firſt Step into it, is made by offering

ing the greateſt Affront to his Honour, and commiting the vileſt Act of Perfidy in the World.

But if the gay Proſpect of a great Place, tempt any Perſon beyond the Power that God's Grace is pleas'd to aſſiſt them with, *in that way let him abide*, and not be re-admitted, becauſe of his Gold Ring, and Fine Apparel, without a Penitent Acknowledgement. The Diſſenters in *England* can never pretend to be Diſſenters upon the mere Principle of Purity of Worſhip, as I have related in the beginning of this Diſcourſe, if ſuch ſhall be receiv'd as blameleſs into their Communion, who have deſerted them upon the occaſion of Preferment, and have made the Sacred Inſtitutions of Chriſt Jeſus, become Pimps to their Secular Intereſt, and then wipe their Mouths, and ſit down in the Church, and ſay, *They have done no Evil.*

'Tis alſo an Intolerable Affront to the Church of *England*, reflecting upon its Doctrine as well as Practice; to make uſe of the Church for a *Cover* to fence them againſt the Laws, at the ſame time continuing to diſown its Communion, as a thing not fit to be continued in.

And yet the Church of *England* is in the right to receive ſuch of the Diſſenters as ſhall come to them without the Ceremony of Recognition, becauſe it is agreeable to the Notion of a National Church, which they profeſs to be. But Diſſenters are bound to juſtifie their Separation from them, or elſe their whole Conſtitution falls to the Ground. Now, how a Separation and a Conformity are Conſiſtent, is to me an inexplicable Riddle.

I queſtion not here the Lawfulneſs of the Diſſenters Separation; it is not the buſineſs of this Diſcourſe to define it; and I am as careful as I can in making Reflections upon either; but I am bold to affirm, That no Diſſenting Church can with lawful Cauſe Separate from the Church of *England*, Eſtabliſh Private Churches or Communions, and at the ſame time allow the Members to Conform to the Eſtabliſh'd Church too: This is incongruous, and one muſt deſtroy the other. From whence I think it becomes the Diſſenters, if they would maintain the Doctrine they teach; if they would have us believe

lieve they Diſſent purely on the honeſt Principles of Conſcience, and Purity of Worſhip, with ſuch a one, *No, not to Eat.* And it is not ſufficient that the Offender a Lord Mayor, or any greater Perſon; unleſs he would be Lord Mayor without a Breach of the Sacred Relation he had entred into, he ſhould be dealt with in that Caſe, as the meaneſt Member of ſuch a Society.

On the other hand, if a Man be call'd upon to be a Magiſtrate, and has Courage enough to follow the Impartial Dictates of his Conſcience, a Query lies before him, What ſhall he do?

The Caſe is plain; *Either refuſe the Honour, or run the Riſque.* The firſt indeed is the plaineſt and eaſieſt Way, and the Ground of it is good, for he whoſe Conſcience Dictates to him that the Terms are Sinful, may refuſe the Call; for Preferments and Honours are a Bait that ſome have refuſed on meer Points of Speculative Philoſophy; and 'tis hard, Chriſtianity ſhou'd not carry a Man as far. Well, but *perhaps a Man has a mind to be a Sheriff or a Lord Mayor*, and is a Diſſenter; or perhaps he really thinks 'tis his Indiſpenſable Duty to ſerve his Country, if he is call'd to that, or the like Office; or perhaps he thinks 'tis a Duty he owes his Family, to advance his Children, and the like, and he is a Profeſt Diſſenter: What ſhall he do? Let him boldly run the Riſque, or openly and honeſtly Conform to the Church, and neither be aſham'd of his Honour, nor of his Profeſſion; ſuch a Man all Men will Value, and God will own: He need not fear carrying the Sword to a Conventicle, or bringing the Conventicle to his own Houſe. But to make the matter a Game, to dodge Religions, and go in the Morning to Church, and in the Afternoon to the Meeting; to Communicate in private with the Church of *England*, to ſave a Penalty, and then go back to the Diſſenters and Communicate again there: This is ſuch a Retrograde Devotion, that I can ſee no colour of pretence for in all the Sacred Book.

I have

I have heard, indeed, that ſome, who are Miniſters of Diſſenting Churches do, or did at the ſame time Communicate with the Church of *England*. I do not diſpute how far a Miniſter may Conform as a Lay-man, tho' he cannot as a Clergy-man; but how any Diſſenting Miniſter can Conform as a Lay-man, and at the ſame time execute a Paſtoral Charge over a Congregation, whom he teaches to Separate from the Church in a Lay-Communion, I cannot Imagine.

'Tis not as I have already noted, Conformity or Nonconformity at the ſame time, in one and the ſame Perſon, *that is the Point*; and doing this for a Secular End, to ſave a Penalty, and privately; and then, as being aſham'd of it, to go back and ſit down as not having done it at all; and a Church-Society admitting this without taking notice of it; theſe are the Contradictions I muſt inſiſt upon, and rather wiſh, than expect to ſee rectified.

A LET-

A

LETTER to Mr. *HOW*,

By Way of REPLY

TO HIS

CONSIDERATIONS

OF THE

PREFACE

TO AN

Enquiry into the Occasional Conformity

Of DISSENTERS.

SIR,

AFTER such an account as you have given of your self in the Five first Pages of your Book, with the Aversion you have to any thing which shou'd interrupt you in your more *Recluse* Studies; I presume no Man cou'd imagine you would break thorough your own Measures to attack a *poor Prefacer*, as you call me, and wholly quitting the Argument, amuse the World, and content your self to Lash the Author with the Severity of your Wit.

Herein, Sir, I must own, that not only your Opponent, but all the Town seem Disappointed exceedingly, that Mr. *How*, who thinks the Subject not worth Answering, shou'd trouble his Head, or spend his Time about the Impertinence of a *sorry Prefacer*.

When

When I Addreſs'd the Preface to you, I thought I had ſo carefully Revis'd both it and the Book, that, as I mention'd to you, I cou'd no where be Tax'd with Exceeding the Rules of Charity and good Manners.

And tho' I would always make them both my Rule, yet I thought my ſelf oblig'd to it more now than ordinarily, by how much the perſon to whom, and the perſons of whom I wrote, were equally known and very much valued by me; and I did not queſtion but I ſhould either not be Reply'd to at all, or it would be done with the Charity of a *Chriſtian*, the Civility of a *Gentleman*, and the Force and Vigour of a *Scholar*.

But ſince it ſeems good to you, Sir, to deſcend ſo far below your ſelf as to quit the Diſpute offer'd, and fall upon me perſonally, and to mix Raillery and Reproach with your Argument, *which, I am ſure, you know too well to think betters the Cauſe*: You muſt blame your ſelf, Sir, for Obliging me in my own Defence to be a little freer with you than otherwiſe I ſhou'd have thought had become me.

Nor, Sir, ſhou'd I have engag'd with you, even in my own Defence, knowing I am to ſtruggle with ſo unequal a Match both as to your Learning and Reputation, had I not ſeen your Book differ ſo much from your conſtant Character; and pardon me, Sir, for the Word, *in many Places from the Truth.*

And ſince I am oblig'd thus publickly to Animadvert upon my Superiors, for ſuch I own you to be both in Learning and Office.

I ſhall ask your Leave to lay down ſeveral Miſtakes upon which I muſt be allow'd to ſuppoſe you have gone in the Cenſures which you have made; which Suppoſitions I draw from the whole Tenour of your Writing.

I preſume, Sir, that you are miſtaken in theſe Four Points, in the *Perſon*, *Temper*, *Profeſſion*, and *Intention* of the Author.

Which Miſtakes, I ſhall venture to ſuppoſe, are the Reaſons which moved you to treat your Adverſary with ſo much indecent Contempt.

As

As to my *Perſon* and *Temper*: 'Tis true, Sir, I have choſen to conceal my Name: and tho' bating Humane Frailty, Sins and Misfortunes, I know no Reaſon why the Argument ſhould be aſham'd of the Author, or the Author of the Argument: Yet when I conſider'd how conſtant a practice it is in the world to Anſwer an Argument with Recriminations inſtead of Reaſonings, I thought it beſt to continue retir'd, that the Caſe *I* had enter'd upon might not come clogg'd with the dead Weight of the Meanneſs and imperfections of the Author.

I need not go back to the inſtance of our Saviour, whoſe Arguments were Confronted with the Contempt of that Queſtion, *Is not this the Carpenter's Son?* For *I* find that even Mr. *How* himſelf wou'd have ſearch'd my Character to have compleated his Remarks with Perſonal Reflections.

And yet *I* cannot imagine what Relation my Name has to the Argument; it cou'd be only uſeful to furniſh you with ſomething in my Character to Reproach me with; which, *God knows you might have found enough of.*

But what wou'd all this be to the Point in hand? The Occaſional Conformity of Diſſenters is not Condemn'd or Defended by the Names of Authors on either ſide, but by Truth, Scripture, and Reaſon.

Thou waſt altogether born in Sin, ſays the High-Prieſt, and the Elders of the *Sanhedrim* to the Poor Man whom Chriſt had healed; *and doeſt thou Teach us?* And yet the poor Man was in the Right; and if *I* am ſo, tho' *I* was the meaneſt and moſt ſcandalous of Scriblers, is my Argument the worſe?

But, Sir, to Anſwer all thoſe Particulars, and let you know that I am not altogether ſo ſhy of my Name as you imagine, I ſhall give you a Genuine honeſt Account of my ſelf, and then my Name is at your Service.

Firſt, Sir, I am to tell you, that I am, and acknowledge my ſelf to be, poſſeſs'd with a ſtrong Averſion to Doubling and Shifting in Points of Religion; and do think that the Caſe in hand is to be allow'd no leſs: And therefore wrote the Enquiry with Two very honeſt Deſigns, *viz.*

To

To see if by Strength of Argument I cou'd receive Satisfaction; and to Explode, and, as far as in me lies, to Oppose the Practice.

Secondly, Had your Book given me, or any Body else that *I* can meet with, *whose Judgment is to be valued*, the Satisfaction *I* desir'd; *I* assure you, *I* am so little fond of an Opinion, because it is mine, that *I* shou'd not have been asham'd to have own'd my self mistaken; and possibly have shown as much Humility in Acknowledging it, as you think *I* have Pride in Opposing.

As to Personal Miscarriages and Misfortunes, of which no Man has more, and which, perhaps may weaken the Reputation of the Author, but I am sure ought not of my Argument: To them *I* shall only say, God *in his Merciful Providence has heal'd the Last, and, I hope, has Pardon'd the First*: And if so, *I* am upon even Terms in point of Reasoning.

By this you may see *I* am sensible of the Beam in my own Eye, and have for some years taken up the part of a Penitent on that very account; but did never understand that thereby *I* was barr'd from Enquiring into what *I* judg'd Scandalous to the Profession of a Party in General, of whom, *though unworthy*, *I* was a Member.

Nor, Sir, am I any-where guilty of Judging another, where the Case is not so plain, as that it really seems to speak it self; For I must remember also, that we are no more to call Good, Evil, or Evil, Good, than we are to Judge one another.

Thus, Sir, I am gone over my own Character; and shall only demand this from you of Right, That, so far as Truth and Honesty is on my side, it may not, nor ought not to be despis'd for being usher'd in by an unworthy instrument.

And 'tis strange, Sir, that you who Animadvert upon me for Judging, should so severely judge me, and that wrongfully too, as shall appear in the Particulars of this short Discourse.

I cou'd not be satisfi'd to say less to this point on these Accounts, because I must put in a *Caveat* against Personal Re-

Reflections as unfair in the Diſpute: He that pleaſes firſt to Confute the Argument, is welcome to ſhow his Wit in Satyrizing upon the Follies and Afflictions of the Author: And there I leave it, and proceed to what I conceive is your third Miſtake about me.

Viz. My profeſſion. And this you ſeem to make plain, while from the 13th, to the 24th page, you treat me as an Independent, and ſpend your time to Reply to the particular Tenents in diſpute between You and Them: which, with Submiſſion, I conceive to be nothing at all to the purpoſe.

After this, *P.* 30, 31, 32, I am talk'd with as a *Fifth-Monarchy-man*, and *Leveller*; what of theſe *Principles* any where appears in the Enquiry, I confeſs I am at a loſs to know; nor, Sir, have you been ſo kind to lay it down.

Indeed I own my ſelf ſomewhat ſurpriz'd to ſee you run on in Anſwering the ſcrupulous Independent about *Kneeling at the Sacrament*, and the Extravagant *Fifth-Monarchy-man*, about ſeizing the Properties of Mankind for the uſe of the Saints; and ſuch things as theſe, by way of Reply to an *Enquiry about Occaſional promiſcuous Conformity*: and am ſtill at a Loſs to find an Antecedent to this Relative.

I aſſure you I am no *Independent*, nor *Fifth-Monarchy-man*, nor *Leveller*. You have ſhown your Learning, Sir, and Confuted an Error inconſiſtent with Civil Society very well; but this had been better done by it ſelf; it had no more relation to the Caſe in hand, than a Lecture againſt the *Alchoran*; and you may as well conjecture me to be a *Mahometan*, as a *Fifth-Monarchy-man*, from any thing in the Book that looks like either. But, Sir, ſince I am led by you to give an account of my profeſſion, which, I hope I ſhall always be ready to do; I ſhall do it in few words: That I am of the ſame Claſs, and in the ſame Denomination of a Diſſenter with your ſelf, your Office excepted, and am willing to be guided by, and to practiſe the Great Rule of Chriſtian Charity in all the proper and legal Extents of it: Indeed *I* have more need to practiſe it than you, becauſe I ſtand more in need

need of it from others, with reſpect to the Cauſes already nam'd. And however, by wreſting Words, and miſtaking my Intentions, you are pleaſed to ſee nothing of it; I am not yet convinc'd that I have broken that Great Chriſtian Rule of Charity, in any thing I have written.

I come now to the Fourth Thing in which you are miſtaken, which is in my *Intentions*; in which you raſhly, and, I aſſure you, wrongfully judge me, however cautious you wou'd have me be of judging others: But, Sir, *Humanum eſt Errare*; you are no more infallible, I ſee, than I, and are fallen into the ſame raſh Error you Reprove me for with ſo much Severity; by judging, that the principal Deſign of this Book was to reflect upon a Worthy Gentleman, who is nam'd in the *Preface*: And in one place you are pleaſed to join me with the Party who Oppos'd him, and bring me in making my Court to them.

All theſe, Sir, *I* ſhall make appear to be not only Miſtakes, but groundleſs Miſtakes; ſuch as nothing but the ſame Thoughts which put you out of Temper, cou'd lead you into: And *I* can ſolemnly Appeal in the Form you have ſet down, that you have wrong'd me in your Cenſure.

Firſt, Sir, the *Enquiry* was publiſh'd Three years ago, and therefore cou'd not be deſign'd as a Perſonal Invective againſt the Gentleman you ſpeak of; and this the Preface told you, if you had pleas'd to read it. All that can be ſaid, is, That the Cauſe being again given, the Reprinting it was deſign'd as a Reproof to the Practice: and ſo much *I* own. As for *Perſons I* am indifferent; *if the Coat fits any Body, let them wear it.*

Secondly, Sir, *I* declare my ſelf, if of any Party, *I* am, and ever was for the *Engliſh* Liberty, and for the putting ſuch Men into Magiſtracy, who, in Concurrence with the King, our Supream Magiſtrate, wou'd protect and preſerve that Liberty. And, as a Perſon every way qualified to execute a Truſt of ſo much Honour, whether profitable or not, *I* won't examine, I gave my Vote for

Sir *Thomas Abney*, and ſhou'd ha' done ſo, If *I* had the power of Ten Thouſand Voices; and no Man has more Reſpect for, or Opinion of his Honeſty and Ability than my ſelf: Nor have *I*, God be thank'd, any Occaſion to ſay this to flatter him; *for I neither want his Favour, nor fear his Anger.*

Herein therefore *I* preſume to ſay you have been entirely miſtaken; and theſe Errors have led you to waſte your Time, and the Reader's too, in making needleſs Remarks, and Anſwering thoſe People who never Oppos'd you.

I come now to that part of your Book which reſpects the Caſe in hand; which, as it is the leaſt part, and indeed ſeems to agree with the Title, that it is only a *Conſideration* of the Preface; *for really with ſubmiſſion, there is very little Anſwer to the Fact:* So it requires not that *I* ſhou'd Reply to the Argument; for I ſee none, but that drawing back the Curtain which you have ſpread over the Subject, *I* ſhou'd ſet it in a True Light, that all Men may judge by their own Conſciences, and the Scripture-Rule, and take care they be not diſtinguiſh'd out of their Reaſon and Religion by the Cunning and Artifice of Words.

Pleaſe therefore, Sir, to admit me to run over your Book with as modeſt Animadverſions as my juſt Defence will allow; and *I* am content to ſtand Corrected, where *I* fail in point of Decency.

Firſt, You quarrel with me for a *Breach of Kindneſs and Equity, in hiding my own Name and Revealing yours. Deſigning my ſelf to fight in the Dark, and expecting you to do it in open Light.* And you give us Five whole Pages, including the Quotation of your ſelf in your Preface to the Inhabitants of *Torrington*, to ſhow your indifferency in Controverted Diſputes, and conſequently your Unwillingneſs to engage in this.

Truly, Sir, as to the Firſt, *I* thought a publick Appeal to you, who are a publick Perſon, had been no Sin againſt Kindneſs or Equity; if it be, *I* ask your Pardon.

As

As to my Concealing my Name, *I* have given you my Reasons already; and as to my Exposing yours, had you thought fit to have Replied to the Book which lay Three years unanswer'd, without being address'd to any person in particular, you had been at Liberty to have remain'd as unexpos'd as the Author.

But the Enquiry being unanswer'd, gave some people more prejudice against the Integrity of Dissenters in general, than *I* cou'd wish to have found; upon which *I* thought it necessary to have the Matter discuss'd, if possible; and knew no Man more concerned to do it, *nor more capable than your self.*

Nor is your Answering me such a Disappointment as you are pleas'd to mention; but that you shou'd attempt it, and do it to no more purpose, is, *I* confess, more Disappointment to me than any thing *I* cou'd ha' met with.

Whether, Sir, the Indifferency you are so pleas'd with in your Temper, be Congruous to your Profession as a *Gospel Minister*, *I* shall not examine: Whether you that are a Pastor of a Dissenting Church, and Administer the Ordinances of Christ to a Select People, in a way Dissenting from the Establish'd Church, and thereby maintain a Schism in the said Establish'd Church, ought to be so indifferent as to boast that you never perswaded any Man to Conform, or not to Conform, I leave it to your self to consider; I am sure, if I was arriv'd to that Coldness in the matter my self, I wou'd Conform immediately; for *I* think what I affirm'd in the *Enquiry*, Page remains a Truth unanswered by you; *That Schism from a True Establish'd Church of Christ, is a great Sin; and if I can Conform, I ought to Conform.*

From this Declaration of your own indifferency to meddle in Matters of Controversie, with your Reasons for it, which *I* suppose you wou'd have taken as Introductory to what follows, you are pleas'd to proceed *very angrily* to examine why *I* engage you in this Quarrel: *I* have given you an Account of it already with all the Honesty and Plainness *I* can, and *I* thought a Person in your Place

wou'd never have Resented the being put upon the Defence of his Profession, or being Civilly ask'd a Question about it; and *I* cannot but observe how carefully you avoid being engag'd in the present Dispute.

I ought to have been well assur'd, you say, (1.) *That you did advise one way or the other*; Or, (2.) *That you ought to have done so.*

Really, Sir, I think it immaterial whether you *were* or no; or, whether you *ought*, or no; for I never Charg'd you with the first, or affirm'd the last; but only ask'd this fair Question:

Whether it was allow'd by Dissenters in general, or by your Congregation in particular? To which Question you give no Answer.

But I shall answer you honestly and directly: I am assur'd, as far as Rationally I can be, by consequences of things, *that you have not advised one way or other?* Nor do I affirm you ought to have done so, unless the Person concern'd, applied to you for Advice in Point of Conscience on the Case; if he did, I do not see how you could decline it. So that to me, it seems, you either were oblig'd, or not oblig'd, as the Application of the Person concern'd might alter the Case: I do not say you were oblig'd officiously to tender your Advice in the Case: *If I am wrong here, I shall acknowledge my Error when I am better inform'd.*

The next thing will come close to the Point, Whether it be a *Fault*, an *unlawful Action*, or no, for a Dissenter, *as such*, to hold Occasional Communion with the Establish'd Church, and, at the same time continue in, or return to his Relative conjunction with a Separate Church.

That it is not a sinful Act simply to have Communion with the Establish'd Church, I willingly agree. But since on this Point depends the Weight of our present Dispute, I must conclude, That I think 'tis a sinful Act circumstantially and conjunctively.

And because I wou'd be rightly understood, *I* shall endeavour to be Explicit, tho' I run the hazard of being counted impertinent.

I have laid down the Case, *I* thought, fairly, and of which

which you are pleas'd to take no Notice, in the *Enquiry*, Page 12.

He who Diſſents from an Eſtabliſh'd Church from any other Reaſons but ſuch as theſe; That he really believes the ſaid Eſtabliſh'd Church is not of the pureſt Inſtitution, but that he can ſerve God in a Form more agreeable to his Will; and that accordingly 'tis his duty to do it ſo, and no otherwiſe: Such a one ought to Conform, becauſe to make a Wilful Schiſm in the Church, is doubtleſs a great Sin, and if I can avoid it, I ought to avoid it.

If then I am guided by this real Principle of Conſcience to Diſſent, how can I Conform without Sinning againſt that Conſcience, by which only my Diſſenting is made Lawful?

And thus, Sir, I am brought to my Argument again; Of which *I* ſhall give you this ſhort Abſtract; and you or any body elſe, are welcome to be angry with me, if you will be pleas'd firſt to Anſwer it:

That he who Diſſents from the Eſtabliſh'd Church, except from a true Principle of Conſcience, is guilty of a great Sin.

That he who Conforms to the Eſtabliſh'd Church againſt his Conſcience, is guilty of a great Sin.

That he who both Diſſents and Conforms at the ſame time and in the ſame Point of Religion, muſt be guilty of one of theſe great Sins.

That he who has committed either of theſe Sins, ought not to be receiv'd again on either ſide on any other Terms than as a Penitent.

I do not examine, as *I* hinted then, whether the Gentleman you would embroil me with, be thus guilty; *be that to himſelf.*

But I muſt now come to your Diſtinctions: Indeed, Sir, *I* believe as you ſay, that taking which ſide you will, you may puzzle the moſt of plain people, who are but of ordinary Underſtandings in the Controverſie about Ceremonies: And give me leave to add, That ſuch is the Subtilty and Nicety of Sophiſtical Reaſonings, that Men may almoſt Diſtinguiſh themſelves into, and out of

any Opinion; and some People, who are Masters of the Art of Nice Arguing, too often lose both Themselves and their Religion in the Labyrinths of Words: *School Divinity and Practical Christianity are Two things*, and seldom understood by the same Heads.

But, Sir, with the greatest Respect, and some Concern, let me tell you, *I* did not think to find all the Difference between the Dissenters and the Church of *England* dwindl'd into *Three Additional Appendices, in which we have some Difference, and so:* and this from Mr. *How*, who is Pastor of a Separate Church.

If we differ from them in Trifles, or have but a Trifling Difference, *I* think we can never justify making so large a Chasm in the Church; we have much to answer for, without question, in the too fatal Divisions of this Nation, if it has all been occasion'd by a few small Appendices.

If our Differences are not Matters of Conscience *I* have no more to say; if they are, 'tis a Mystery yet hidden from the Common Understandings, how they can be first insisted on from a Principle of Conscience, and then wav'd without acting against that Conscience, which only could justify the first insisting on them: If you can Distinguish us into this, *I* am mistaken.

I allow your Distinctions of Sins, which are Consistent or Inconsistent with the Christian State, to be Orthodox and Right.

I allow your Distinctions of Negative and Affirmative Precepts, and, according to my weak Talent, agree with you in them.

But the Consequence you draw, with submission, does not reach the Case; which is, That scrupulous Persons ought to be fully perswaded in their own Minds; and Fellow Christians were not to Judge, but to Receive them.

This you have answer'd your self, *P.* 13. to be means in dubious and small Matters: And if we must stick here, we are next to Examine, Whether the Difference between Us and the Establish'd Church be only in dubious

and

and ſmall Matters; if it be, I know not how we ſhall Ward off the Blow of being guilty of Schiſm; the Sin of which *I* ſuppoſe you will not diſpute. Wherefore to deſcend to ſome Particulars——If I know why we Diſſent from the Eſtabliſh'd Church, 'tis principally on ſuch Accounts as theſe.

1. On account of the Epiſcopal * Hierarchy, Prelatical Ordination and Super-intendency.

* Clarkſon's *No Scripture-Evidence for Dioceſan Biſhops.*

2. On account of their impoſing things own'd to be indifferent, as Terms of Communion.

3. On account of their impoſing things own'd to be otherwiſe indifferent, as made neceſſary by the Command of the Civil Magiſtrate.

As to Partial Conformity, Diſſent in ſome things, and Conforming in others, which you mention *Page* it does not ſeem to concern this Caſe. No Man among the Diſſenters, I believe, pretended to Diſſent in every thing; but we are ſpeaking of Conforming in thoſe very Points in which we Diſſent, and that no leſs than the *Article of Communion.*

If theſe are your ſmall things, I am content to ſtand by it, and ready to prove, as I ſaid in the *Enquiry*:

That whoever Separates from this Church, and at the ſame time Conforms to it; by Conforming, denies his Diſſent being Lawful; or, by his Diſſenting, Damns his Conforming as Sinful.

All this, Sir, you have not thought fit to touch upon, for Reaſons which you know beſt; and I really wonder you ſhould take ſo much pains to Cavil at me and a ſimple Preface, which really was not worth your while; and when you have led your ſelf into the Argument, take no notice of the thing it ſelf, as it is Objected, but Diſtinguiſh ſo nicely about the ſmaller matters, and omit the greater.

If we differ from the Eſtabliſh'd Church in ſmall things only, we are to blame to make the Breach ſo wide. Was it for ſmall and dubious Things only that we ſuffer'd Proceſs of the Law, Excommunications, Seizures of our Eſtates,

ſtates, and Impriſonment of our Perſons? And ſince you are pleas'd to bring in that Honourable Gentleman, ſpeaking in the firſt Perſon to the Point, as an Inference drawn from your Diſtinctions, and your ſelf telling us what he may perhaps do; Give me leave to go through thoſe Suppoſititious Caſes with you, Sir. *As to the particular Perſon, you concern him in it, not I.*

1. You ſay, *He may have Arguments ſo ſpecious, that ſuppoſing he Err, may Impoſe upon the Judgement, and thereby Direct the Practice of a very Intelligent, Diſcerning, and Upright-hearted Man, ſo as to make him think that which is perhaps an Error, his preſent Duty, and ſo not offer Violence to his Conſcience.*

I Anſwer: Admit he does ſo; yet while you at the ſame time allow *he Errs*, that is, Sins; why ought not he to be admoniſhed to Repent of that Sin, before he be receiv'd again into Communion? This is what I mean by being receiv'd as a Penitent: You grant (*P.* 9.) a Man is to do the part of a Penitent for a Fault; and this Error is a Fault, though it were an Error of Ignorance.

2. Then you ſay, *P.* 18. *As judging ſuch a Church true as to Eſſentials, he may think (Occaſion inviting) he hath greater Reaſon, though it be Defective in Accidents, to Communicate with it ſometimes, than to ſhun its Communion always.*

Pardon me, Sir, I muſt ſay this ſeems a Sophiſm in Religion; for allow he may think ſo, you muſt allow he ought not to think ſo. And why *Occaſion inviting*? Why not *Occaſion compelling*? 'Tis manifeſt, Force cou'd not *compel*, why ſhou'd *Occaſion invite*?

I confine not my Argument to this Gentleman; but of Others I can prove, That Force cou'd not *compel* them, but Occaſion, that is, Honour and Preferment cou'd *invite* them. Now if you pleaſe to Reconcile this for me, I ſhall be gotten over one Point; Whether a Man can juſtify ſuffering to the Ruin, perhaps, of his Family, rather than comply with that which he may do without

without imposing upon his Conscience, and which, Occasion inviting, he may judge lawful?

You have another Distinction which, I confess, I hardly think to be Rational, that is, Unprofitable Preferment, *Page* . First, I neither understand that the Instance you are upon is Unprofitable, nor believe it; nor that the Epithete can be proper to the word, for that which is unprofitable cannot be a Preferment.

I must also observe here, Sir, that the Conformity exacted in the late Reigns, was not so large as what these Gentlemen are pleas'd to comply with voluntarily. Now as to the Ceremonies you insist on, and which indeed I do not, as the way of Administration, Kneeling, *&c.* it was allow'd to be so indifferent then, that many receiv'd in the Church Standing. But when these *Unprofitable Preferments*, as you please to call them, invite, they seek of themselves what before they cou'd not be forc'd to.

3. You ask us another Question: *What if some have thought* that *alone a sufficent Reason for their Occasional Communion with a Church, with whom they have not a constant Communion, That they may testify to the World they Decline it not as no Church, but so far practically own it as the Reason of the thing requires; may not be supposed to do this, as thinking it a good Reason, whether it be so or no, without going against Conscience herein?*

Truly, Sir, I must suppose these *It may be's*, and *Why may not's*, are put in to make out what you said *Page* , that you cou'd puzzle a mean Understanding both ways; and, I thank God, you are driven to the Necessity of these Arts. But to let you see these Suppositions may be replied to;

1. Sir, the Church of *England*, however, must own Her self very much oblig'd to such Gentlemen who will Conform only to Vindicate her Reputation.

2. They may be supposed to do thus, but they cannot be supposed to do so without a manifest gross ignorance, and taking that for a good Reason which is none at all: For if, Sir, you will admit that a Man is in the Right as to him-

himself, while he thinks he is so, then you open the way to the fatal Latitude of all manner of Error, for no man's guilty of an Error, as an Error, but as his Judgment may be perverted to believe himself right, when he is wrong.

Page 19. you are pleas'd to Object for me: *Since, Sir, you think it not unlawful to Communicate with such a Church sometimes, why shou'd you not (for Common Order sake) do it always?*

Sir, if you please to give me leave to ask Questions for my self, I wou'd state it something more fairly to the Case in hand, thus: *Since, Sir, you think it not Unlawful to Communicate with such a Church sometimes, why shou'd you not, to avid the just Imputation of Schism, which is a great Sin, have done it always?* And why never do it, but when upon an Occasion of Preferment inviting, you find it necessary to protect you from the penalty of the Law?

I shou'd ha' been very glad you had stated this Question fully, and suppose what Answer you please; for *upon my word, I can suppose none*, unless I wou'd bring him in, owning the Crime, and repenting of it; which I shou'd be glad to hear of.

What you say, I shall stare at, Page 20. *I willingly admit, that what is simply best, may not be best for Practice in present Circumstances.* And I must likewise remind you, Sir, That what may be simply Lawful, may be unlawful *Circumstantially*: And so I affirm this to be, and dare undertake to prove it so, without comeing in the Number of *Solomon*'s Fools, with whom you have rank'd me for *proposing hastily beyond Seven Men that can render a Reason.*

Here, Sir, *viz.* at your 20th Page, I must leave you to combat with the *Independents*, and let them answer for themselves; I am not at all concern'd in the Quarrel.

And you spend three or four *Pages* as an Advocate for the *Church* of *England*, concerning Modes and Gestures; in which, I am sure, I am far from placing the least Weight, where serious *Christianity* is to be found;

found; and God forbid either you or I, Sir, shou'd be found making a Rent in the *Christian* Union of this *Church* and Nation, if their Kneeling at the Sacrament, or the Use of a Liturgy, were all the Dispute; 'tis you have led me into saying any thing of the Difference between the National *Church* and the Dissenters.

I know that the Λειτουργία of the Primitive Church included the Forms of their Administrations and Publick Services; and need not recite my Authorities for it to you, who know it better than I; nor that they are found in the Time of *Tertullian*, and long before him. But *I* know also, and the contrary has never been prov'd, that those Forms were not impos'd as Terms of Communion, and under the Penalty of Laws, at least till the Divisions of the Church between the *Arrians* and the Orthodox, when Error and Persecution got into the Church, and the Evil Spirit Reign'd, to the Destruction of both sides.

And now, Sir, *I* find you no more talking to me, till you come to *Page* 25, where you are pleased to Satyrize upon my Title and Preface.

Really, Sir, *I* believe my self capable to Defend my Book against all that the Power of Cavil and Sophistry can suggest; and therefore *I* am not solicitous for my Preface and Title-Page.

But that *I* may satisfy your Request: and telling you first, that you oblige me to it: *I* shall be plain.

You desire me to examine my own Heart, what I meant by that Suggestion? in Cases of Preferment, mentioned in the Title; was it not to insinuate, that Preferment was the inducement to that Worthy Person to act against his Conscience?

Sir, Will you be pleased to *Examine your own Reason*, how that can be, when the *Words* were printed *Three years* before the Fact; and *I Appeal* to God and the World, whether you have not *wrongfully Judg'd* me then. But to make it more plain:

I do not say he, or *any Body else* does it for *Preferment*;

you

you are pleas'd strangely to mistake me: I say they may have the *Preferment* without it.

'Tis done to *save their Money*, to save the *Five hundred Pounds*, which is the *Penalty* of the Act: *I* am sorry you have not *Read the Book* before you ventur'd to make so *severe a Remark*. For your better *Information*, therefore, Sir, *I* refer you to *p.* 19 in the *Enquiry*, where *my Words* are plain.

As to the *Worthy Gentleman, whose Cause you would have this to be*; you say this has been *his known Judgement* and *Practice* several Years.

Tho' it were true, yet, Sir, this is *no Argument* to prove the thing *lawful*, or to prove that it is *not practised*, even in every part that *I* have laid down, by others *before him*, and like to be so *after him*; it only quits him of doing it *against his Conscience*, to qualifie himself for the *unprofitable Preferment* you mention: *and this I never Charg'd him with.*

That he has done the Fact, no Body Disputes; but that he did it against his Conscience, I never alledg'd; *you put that upon me, Sir, unjustly*: Be his Conscience to God and himself, *I* know better than *to judge him*, nor can you without a *Breach of Charity* suggest it of me.

Nor do I any-where say that others have acted against their Consciences that do so; possibly they may by the help of *nice Distinguishing*, Reason themselves into a Belief of their being in the Right.

But the Point in Debate is, Whether *whatever their Opinions may be in the Case*, the Act it self be not, as *I* have said, Circumstantially sinful: For I hope you will grant me they are never the more in the Right for its being their Opinion: Truth is always unmov'd, sullen, and the same, whatever Gloss our Fancy or Interest puts upon it.

But since you will have it be this Gentleman's practice, which I think no Reputation to him, nor Defence of the Practice: Nor do I think you or he can justifie your Dissenting from the Church of *England*, and that Practice together: Since, I say, you will have it be that Gentleman's practice; all you gain by that in point of Argument,

ment, is, That he did not do it againſt his Conſcience, nor to ſerve the preſent Turn. And what then? I affirm to you, I neither meant him nor any Man elſe, but him that is Guilty; and I meant him, and every Body elſe, if they are guilty. And what is all this to the purpoſe? The Queſtion is not here, who is, or is not guilty of it; but whether the thing in its own Nature, aggravated with the Circumſtances of Turn and Return, timed for Preferment, with all the black *Etcetera*'s of it, as 'tis lately practis'd, and as I have laid it down, be a Crime, or no?

If this Gentleman you *would Embroil me with*, did formerly live in a general, or ordinary Communion, both with the Church of *England*, and a private Congregation, before either the Preferments, I mention, invited, or the Penalty of the Law forced him to it; Then he ſtands clear of this part of the Charge, that he did it for the protection of his Intereſt; but ſtill the Matter of Fact is true.

Thus, Sir, I have ſaid what *I* thought my ſelf oblig'd to by way of Reply to your Conſiderations: And as to your Cenſures, tho' *I* have a great Opinion of your Charity, however you ſeem to be out of Temper in this Caſe; yet I appeal from your Judgment, to the Judgment of Truth; and waving all your puzzling Diſtinctions, which my Reſpect for your Perſon and Character, will not permit me to Deſcant upon; give me leave to make this ſhort Concluſion.

Sincerity is the Glory of a Chriſtian; the Native Luſtre of an honeſt Heart is impoſſible to be hid; 'twill ſhine through all his Life in one Action or another, in ſpite of Scandal; and it wants no Artifice to ſet it out.

If the Practice we Diſcourſe of be to be Defended, *let it be a Practice*; *I* mean, let it be Voluntary, let it be Free and Spontaneous; and if Gentlemen, who have ſuch a Latitude in their Opinions, wou'd not have it thought they are mov'd to it by their *Intereſts*, let them practiſe it openly, and not time it ſo to the very *Eve* of an Election, as to have it ſpeak of it ſelf, and, as it were, force Men to believe it done on purpoſe; nay, let them not put ſuch a Reproach in the Mouths of their Enemies, as to have it

ſpoken

ſpoken in Contempt, with *Circumſtances* that ſtop the Mouths of Argument, and are as *Convincing* as Demonſtration.

You have given your Bleſſing to them at the *Concluſion* of your Book, with a *Let them go on and proſper.* I wiſh you have not ſpoken Peace where there is no Peace: As to its being a *Secret between God and Them*; I ſhall only ſay, *Enter not into their Secret, O my Soul!* 'Tis an *Arcana* that is hidden from my Eyes, and I doubt very much how it can conſiſt with conſulting the Rule with the ſerious Diligence you recommend: For certainly were the great *Chriſtian* Rule conſulted, it wou'd inſtruct them, that the Profeſſion of the *Chriſtian Religion* is not a thing, the Forms whereof are of ſuch indifference, as you ſeem to make it; that 'tis not a light thing to ſhift and change *Communion* with an *Eſtabliſh'd*, and with a *Separate Church*, as often as Convenience, or Reaſon of State, or Intereſt invite.

And whether *I* ſet my Name to this, or no? Whether *I* am an *Independent*? *I hope they are Chriſtians too as well as other folks.* Whether *I* am a *Fifth-Monarchy-man*? Whether the Book was deſign'd againſt my Lord Mayor, *tho' 'twas wrote Three Years before he was Choſen*? Or, whether any thing elſe you Cenſoriouſly charge me with be true, or no, ſeems to me not worth your while to Examine? Since if *I* ſhou'd grant them all, the Argument of Occaſional Conformity remains untouch'd.

If the Truth be made the worſe for my Temper, *I* am ſorry for it: But this is another of Mr. *How*'s Paradoxes, *and ſomething like your Unprofitable Preferment*, that Truth, tho' it be mix'd with the worſt Temper in the World, ſhould thereby be ſo debaſed as to become worſe than Error.

Sir, *I* had ended here, but for a Clauſe you force me to Reply to, concerning the *Old Puritans*, who you tax me with abuſing: Indeed 'twas as remote from my Thoughts, as 'twas, that ever it was poſſible you cou'd treat an Adverſary with ſuch Language.

And, but that *I* ſhall not ſuffer my ſelf to be tranſported beyond the Bounds of Civility, and ſo fall into your Error, *I* cou'd allow my ſelf to be very much mov'd, That

ſuch

ſuch a Man as you ſhould venture to Charge me with what is neither true in Fact, nor can be ſuggeſted by Conſequence from any thing *I* have wrote: And, Sir, you muſt give me leave to ſay, *I* am ſorry you ſhou'd lay your ſelf ſo open, and force me to ſo ſevere a Remark.

You are pleas'd to affirm, That *I* induſtriouſly repreſent the Primitive *Engliſh Puritans*, as if they were generally of my *ſtingy*, *narrow Spirit*.

And here you run upon me with ill Language, *How I could think to Impoſe upon the World in a matter of ſo recent Memory*; and, *How I could have the Confidence*, &c. This is really a new ſort of Stile from Mr. *How*.

Sir, *I* have induſtriouſly examin'd the Book *I* wrote; and, as *I* am ſure *I* never entertain'd a Thought in prejudice of the beſt Character that can be given thoſe Primitive Reformers; ſo *I* cannot find one Word in the whole Book which can, no, not with the help of an *Innuendo*, be ſo much as pretended to look that way.

Wherefore, Sir, unleſs you can make it out, or, by the help of ſome of your *Diſtinctions*, come off from it; *I* hope you will do me ſo much *Juſtice*, as you are a Man of *Truth* and *Honeſty*, to recant the *Scandal*, and acknowledge your ſelf miſtaken.

And that *I* may leave it to every body to Judge, whether *I* have not juſt Ground for what *I* ſay; *I* ſhall quote here all that *I* have ſaid relating to the *Puritans*, and impartially lay down the Matter of Fact.

After *I* had given a ſhort *Abridgment* of our *Reformation*, and recited the *Controverſie* between Biſhop *Ridley* and Biſhop *Hooper*, *I* proceeded thus, *Page* the 6*th*. *When Queen* Elizabeth *Reſtored the Proteſtant Religion, and the Church enjoy'd its Peace again, the Debate reviv'd: But the firſt Eſtabliſhment of King* Edward, *obtained ſo on the Minds of Men, that the farther Reformation was rejected: The other Party being not at all Convinc'd, tho' Over-rul'd, ſubmitted their Perſons to the Laws, but not their Opinions; affirming, That it was the Duty of every Chriſtian to endeavour to ſerve God with the greateſt Purity of Worſhip as was poſſible; and that this was the pureſt Worſhip which came neareſt the Divine Inſtitution,*

ſtitution, which they believed the Eſtabliſh'd Liturgy did not; and therefore in Conſcience they muſt be Diſſenters.

Having made this Quotation, which *I* have ſufficient Authority to prove genuine, from a Manuſcript of a famous Man in thoſe days, which *I* have ſeen, and on occaſion am ready to produce: *I* go on thus:

It muſt be own'd, that the Original Authors of theſe Diſputes were Learned, Devout, and Singularly Pious, ſtrict in Converſation to Exceſs, if that were poſſible; *and from thence in a ſort of happy Deriſion, were call'd* Puritans: *Of whom I ſhall ſay nothing, but leave for a Record the laſt Speech of a Famous Forreigner;*

Sit anima mea cum Puritanis Anglicanis.

This is all the Words that have the leaſt Retroſpect on the *Puritans*, unleſs you will pretend that a few words, *Page* 24. is meant of them, which no Man can have any Colour of Reaſon for: But leſt that ſhou'd be pretended, *I* ſhall quote them alſo, *Page* 24.

The Diſſenters can never pretend to be Diſſenters upon the meer Principle of Purity of Worſhip, as I have related in the beginning of this Diſcourſe, if ſuch ſhall be receiv'd as blameleſs into their Communion, who have Deſerted them upon occaſion of Preferment.

This refers back to *Page* 12. where, *I* ſay, *I* ſhall give my Eſſay as to what I underſtand a real Diſſenting Proteſtant is, nor can it refer to any other place: But *if you ſhou'd ſtill ſay* it looks back to the *Puritans*, 'twou'd puzzle a better Head than mine to find out a Reflection on them in it.

But this is not the only thing in which you are pleaſed to injure both me and the Truth: For, *Page* 28. you tell me, with ſome Heat too, *That throughout my Book, ſuch as are ſo ſtingily* (your Favourite word, Sir) *bigotted to a Party*, as I, are treated with this ſort of Charity, to be ſtil'd *Painted Hypocrites, ſuch as play Bo-peep with God Almighty, That if ſuch an Occaſion offer it ſelf to any of them to ſerve God and their Country in a publick Station, do what the Law requires,*

and

and which they may finlesly do in order to it, do trespass upon their Consciences, and Damn their Souls to save their Countries.

Sir, *for God sake*, how came you to let your Passion thus out-run your Memory?

There is not one word of all this true: *Pardon me that I am oblig'd in my own Defence to say so*: I refer you to the Original to convince your self of it, and I'll take the pains to go along with you in the Examination.

First, As to *Painted Hypocrites*, 'tis spoken of the whole Body of Protestants in *England*, in these words.

P. 8. *I must acknowledge it fares with the Church of* England, *and with Dissenters both, as it has always far'd with Christ's Church in the whole World; that while suppress'd and persecuted, their Professors were few, and their Profession more severe: But when Religion comes to be the Mode of a Country*, so many Painted Hypocrites, there's the Word, *get into the Church, that Guile is not to be seen till it arrive to Apostacy.*

Pray, Sir, who can these *Painted Hypocrites* refer to, that you should say, *Innuendo, All those that are not of my Party, or that are not so stingy as I?*

These *Painted Hypocrites* must belong to that Religion which is the Mode of the Country: which must rather mean the Church of *England* than the Dissenters: and yet if I meant either of them, it cannot be made a Reflection, because 'tis confin'd only to such as are Apostates from Religion, not such as continue to Conform to both or either of them.

This is Judging me indeed neither with *Charity* nor Truth: The next Words are, *Such as play Bo-peep with God Almighty.* Pray, good Sir, reflect on *Solomon*, and what is said of such as judge of a Matter before they hear it: I am perswaded you did not read the Clause; which is thus.

I had been examining the Woful Excuse of some people, and *too many such we had*, who wou'd take the Sacrament at the Church, and pretend 'twas done only as a Civil Action; on which I made such Remarks as, I think, so prophane a Practice deserv'd; and at last added, *This is playing Bo-peep with God Almighty.*

And, pray Sir, if I may be so free with you, do but exa-

mine the Circumſtance as *I* have laid it down, and tell me from the Sincerity of your Soul, if *you are not of the ſame Mind.*

The other Reflection is on ſuch, who, tho' it be againſt their Conſciences, pretend 'tis to ſerve their Country: Of theſe, *I* ſay, *They are Patriots indeed, who will Damn their Souls to ſave their Country*: Not that thereby *I* imply, that to take the Sacrament with the Church of *England*, wou'd Damn any Man's Soul, if he communicated with a right Principle; but to do it to ſerve a Turn, which is the Queſtion in hand, *I* won't anſwer for, tho' it were inverted from the Church to a Diſſenting Congregation.

All theſe Inſtances, Sir, and more which *I* could reckon up, ſerve to make me admire wherein *I* have ſo provok'd you, as to remove you from your wonted Candor: And ſince my Writing on a Cauſe, which *I* expected fairer Quarter in, ſo exceedingly moves you, *I* ſhall chuſe rather to lay down the Controverſy, than to engage with a Perſon, who *I* ſhou'd be very much concern'd to ſee exceed the Rules which he has with ſo much Succeſs, and ſo much Applauſe preſcrib'd to others.

I always thought Men might Diſpute without Railing, and Differ without Quarrelling; and that Opinions need not affect our Tempers; But ſince it is not to be found, I leave it to thoſe who have a better Talent that way than I.

POSTSCRIPT.

Beſides your Book, Sir, which I think treats me *Courſely enough*; I am ſince threatned to be worſe us'd by a Gentleman, who thinks himſelf concern'd in my affronting you, as he calls it.

I aſſure you, Sir, I do not charge you with any part of it: I believe you to be more of a *Chriſtian*, and more of a *Gentleman*, nor am I ſenſible I gave you any affront, *I am ſure I intended you none.*

But

But becauſe that Gentleman, I underſtand, expects ſome Anſwer this way, I have this to ſay to him.

That if he thinks himſelf capable to give me Perſonal Correction, he knows me well enough, and need never want an opportunity to be welcome.

D. F.

The Two Great Queſtions

CONSIDER'D.

I. *What the* French *King will Do, with Reſpect to the* Spaniſh Monarchy.

II. *What Meaſures the* Engliſh *ought to Take.*

The PREFACE.

SInce the following Sheets were in the Preſs, ſome Letters from France *adviſe, that the King of* France *has ſaluted his Grandſon the Duke* D' Anjou, *as King of* Spain.

Some of the moſt Intelligent Part of Mankind, think He has done ſo by way of Politicks, *to ſee how the reſt of* Europe *will reſent it; as He once did in a like Caſe, to the Prince of* Conti *as King of* Poland; *whoſe Pretenſions He did not think fit to purſue.*

The Author therefore thinks the following Sheets are as much to the purpoſe as they were before; and without any farther recommendation refers the Reader to the peruſal.

THE
Two Great Queſtions
CONSIDER'D.

WE are told, That the Deceaſed King of *Spain* has by his laſt Will, beſtow'd his Kingdoms on the Duke *D'Anjou*, Grandſon to the Preſent King of *France*.

Amongſt the many weak Actions of that Effeminate Prince, who hardly ever did a Wiſe One, This is the moſt Ridiculous; if it be proper to give ſuch an *Epithet* to the Actions of Sovereign Princes.

1. To imagine the Moſt Chriſtian King wou'd give any Regard to, or put any Value upon ſuch a Bequeſt, any farther than conſiſted with his other Meaſures, or at leaſt with his Intereſt; muſt be a Folly none could be guilty of, but ſuch as know very little of the King of *France*, or of the Affairs of *Europe*.

2. To think that the Reſt of the Princes of *Chriſtendom*, wou'd ſuffer the *Spaniſh Monarchy* to be bequeathed by Will to a *French* Man, without any Title or other Right than the Deed of Gift of the late King, and without any Regard to the Right of the Lawful Pretenders, is alſo moſt Egregious Nonſenſe.

To make way therefore, to the Caſe in hand, and at the Queſtions before us with more Clearneſs; 'tis neceſſary to Examine the Nature, and probable Conſequences of this Laſt Will and Teſtament of the King of *Spain*.

1. As to the Nature of the Thing, it ſeems to be a Tacit Invitation to all the Competitors to a Dangerous and a Bloody War; as if the King of *Spain* ſhou'd have ſaid to his Privy Council, *I'll be revenged on them all for attempting to divide our Dominions; for I'll give it to One*

that has no Title, let the Reſt fight for it, and the longeſt Sword take all.

As to the Duke *D'Anjou*, he has no manner of Title, but what is preſumptive on the Death of his Father and Elder Brother without Iſſue; if they ſhould have Children the Emperor of *Morocco* has as good, and perhaps a better Title to the Crown of *Spain* than He.

The *Dauphin* of *France* has an Unqueſtion'd Title to the Crown of *Spain*, if it be True, that the Renunciation made by his Father and Mother at the *Pyrenæan* Treaty, cannot bind the Children ſo as to deprive them of their Right, which is the great Argument now us'd to defend their Title: Now if their Right be good, the Crown is the *Dauphin*'s, and after him the Duke of *Burgundy*'s and his Heirs.

But I ſhou'd be glad to have it anſwer'd, how the Duke *D'Anjou* can have a Title while the other are alive? It cannot be in the Power of the *Dauphin* to ſay, *I* will give my Right to my Second Son, for *I* do not think it worth my while to accept of it for my ſelf or my Eldeſt. Becauſe,

2. The Conſequence of that will in all Probability be this, that the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Son, when he has One, will ſay again, My Grandfather had no Power to give away my Right, I am the Undoubted Heir to the *Spaniſh Monarchy*, and ſo no Queſtion he will be if the preſent *Dauphin* has a Right; and if Power be in his Hands to ſubdue it, he will have it, tho' the Poſſeſſion be his Uncle's; for Crowns know no Uncles, Brothers, or any Relations; when Power of Poſſeſſion joyn'd with Right is before them.

So that the King of *France* cannot but ſee, that to take the Crown of *Spain* from the Will and Teſtament of the late King, is Diſclaiming the Right of his own Son, and Involving his Grandſons in Bloody Wars; the Iſſue of which a Wiſer Head than His cannot foreſee. This leads me to Conſider

The First Question.

What Measures the King of France *will take, with respect to the Succession of the* Spanish Monarchy ?

By saying what Measures he will take, I mean, what He will in all Probability take, or what his Interest will lead him to take; for *I* suppose no Man will imagine *I* am of his Privy Council.

To debate this Matter, 'tis necessary to consider the King of *France*, with respect to the Terms he stands in with the rest of *Europe*.

If the King of *France* were absolute Master of his own Measures, and had no Leagues or Neighbours to regard; there is no Question to be made, but that rejecting all Conditions, he would immediately enter upon the Dominions of *Spain* as his own undoubted Inheritance, or at least his Sons; annex the same to the Crown of *France*, and make it one Entire Empire; and any Man else wou'd do the like.

But as He has Measures to take with Powerful Neighbours, who as Potent as He is, are able to give him Diversion enough; and if He shou'd embroil himself with them, may make it a Hazard whether he should obtain it or no; He is too Wise a Prince not to see that his Interest will Oblige him to act in Concert with his Neighbours, as far as conveniently He can.

The Truth of this Argument is abundantly confirm'd in the Measures He took, and the Alliances He made before the Death of the King of *Spain*.

They who think the King of *France* so Magnipotent that He values none of his Neighbours, and talk so big of him, that like his Medal-makers they place him among the *Invincibles*; must have forgot the Siege of *Namure*, and the Vain Effort of the Power of *France* to relieve it; they must pass over his Deserting the Late, and Acknowledging the Present King of *England* at the Peace of *Reswick*; they must overlook the low Steps he was oblig'd

oblig'd to make, to draw the Duke of *Savoy* from the Confederacy, how he was unable to ſave *Caſall*, which coſt him ſo much Mony; how he delivered the Impregnable Town of *Pigneroll*, which his Father call'd the Right Hand of *France*, and which coſt him 100 Millions to fortifie; how he married the Fortune of *France* to a Daughter of *Savoy* without a Portion, and bought the Duke of *Savoy* at the Price of his Grandſon's Diſhonour; how he ſurrendred the large Dominions of *Lorrain* and *Luxemburgh*, and above 100 Fortified Towns to the Confederates, which though he were always Maſter of the Field, wou'd coſt him Seven Years to recover by the Ordinary Courſe of Sieges and Attacks.

Theſe are plain Demonſtrations, that he found himſelf over-match'd by the Confederacy; and he is not a Man of ſo little Senſe, as not to know it.

Why elſe in the League now made for the Partition of the *Spaniſh Monarchy*, ſhou'd he content himſelf with the Dominion the *Spaniards* had in *Italy*, and quit the Delicious Morſel of *America* to the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

What Reaſon can any one aſſign for it, but that finding the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* never to be brought to conſent, to his being ſo very powerful at Sea, as that Addition wou'd make him; he was willing to accept ſo large a Portion as the *Italian* Part aſſign'd to him upon Eaſie Terms, rather than venture like the Dog in the Fable, to loſe all by coveting too much.

Upon theſe Terms therefore, in Concert with the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has agreed, that on the Deceaſe of the King of *Spain* the *Spaniſh Monarchy* ſhould be thus divided.

All the Dominions which the *Spaniards* poſſeſs in *Italy* to be given to the *French*, *Millan* excepted, which is to be given to the Duke of *Lorrain* in Conſideration of the Dutchies of *Lorrain* and *Barr*, which are to be yielded to the *French*, and all the reſt ſome few Towns on the Frontiers of *Navarre* excepted, to be given to the Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, with other Particulars needleſs to repeat.

This League being Concluded, the King of *Spain* (as if he had linger'd out his Days only 'till it was thus fix'd) dyes according to our Account on the 22. *of October* last.

The *Spaniard*, on pretence that they wou'd not have their Monarchy divided, and taking no Notice at all of the Right of any Prince to ſucceed; has made a Legacy of his Kingdoms, and given them all away to the Duke *D'Anjou*, a Prince who has no more Right to it, or Pretence of Right, except as before, than the Prince of *Wales* or the Czar of *Muſcovy*.

Now 'tis a Mighty Diſputed Point among our *Politicians*, what the King of *France* will do in this New Juncture of Affairs, whether He will ſtand by the Partition agreed on, or accept of the late King of *Spain*'s Bounty, and take the Kingdom as a Gift to his Grandſon.

What He will do, as is before noted, cannot poſitively be aſſerted; but what Reaſon the State and Nature of the Thing, and his own Undoubted Intereſt will dictate, to be done by any Prince in his Circumſtances, any one may judge.

If He be the ſame King of *France* that He has always been, who has very rarely took falſe Meaſures, or baulkt his own Intereſt, if He be guided by the ſame well-mannag'd Council as he us'd to be, He will certainly adhere to the *Poſtulata* of his Alliance, and quietly accept the Partition of the *Spaniſh Monarchy*, as it is agreed in the before-mentioned League. For,

By this Acquiſition of *Italy* He ſecures to himſelf the Abſolute Dominion of the *Mediterranean Sea*; He entirely excludes the Houſe of *Auſtria* from any farther Concern in *Italy*, he has the Church ſo abſolutely in his Clutches, that He may make himſelf Pope if He thinks fit; and whenever He is *pleas'd to be Angry* with the Petty Princes of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, *Modena*, *Mantua*, &c. they ſhall lay down their Principalities at his Invincible Feet, and count it more an Honour to be call'd *Princes of the Blood*, or *Peers of* France, than to be Abſolute Lords of their own Dominions. So He ſhall whenever He thinks

thinks fit, re-eſtabliſh the Old Kingdom of the *Lombards*, and annex it to the Title of *France* and *Navarre*.

And all this without the Expence of Treaſure or Hazard of his Armies, without fitting out a Fleet, or fighting at Sea or on Shore; the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* being aſſiſtant to put him into the Poſſeſſion of it.

If the Emperor ſhou'd be ſo weak to oppoſe Him, He muſt ſtand upon his own Leggs, and in the preſent Circumſtance, his Power does not ſeem formidable enough to make the Matter doubtful.

And now we are come to mention the Emperor, let us ſay a Word or Two to thoſe Gentlemen, who in his behalf ſpeak big and ſay, he is able to baffle all theſe Meaſures.

Firſt, They tell you, how powerful the Empire now is by the Acquiſition of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and the moſt advantageous Peace with the *Turk*.

They tell you his Imperial Majeſty has an Army of 120 Thouſand Men, beſides the Troops of the *Circles* which are 80 Thouſand more; that of theſe 50 Thouſand lye ready on the Confines of *Italy*, and all the reſt of his Forces are drawing down to the *Rhine*, that the Duke of *Brandenburgh* on Condition of being made King of *Pruſſia* will join him with all his Forces; that the Duke of *Lunenburgh* on account of the *Ninth Electorate*, will maintain 30 Thouſand Men at his own Charge, and thus all the Princes of *Italy* are on his ſide.

By theſe they tell you, the Emperor will immediately on the one ſide ſecure *Italy*, and on the other ſide make ſuch a Vigorous Diverſion on the *Rhine*, that the King of *France* ſhall have Work enough to ſecure his own Dominions, while in the mean time the Arch-Duke *Charles* ſhall be ſent into *Spain*, where the *Spaniards*, who naturally hate the *French*, will immediately proclaim him King.

Thoſe are great Things indeed, and if the Emperor be ſo ſtrong, he may cut out a great deal of Work for the Confederates, and I'll ſuppoſe, the Emperor ſhould be ſo blind to his own Intereſt as to attempt it, yet it ſeems not at all probable, that his Imperial Majeſty who has hardly been able to ſupport himſelf this War, in Conjunction with the

whole

whole Confederacy of *Europe* ſhould imagine himſelf capable of putting a Check to the Power of *France*, in Conjunction with *England* and *Holland*; for whatever he might do in *Italy* and on the *Rhine*, he would never be able to defend *Spain* and *Flanders* if he really had them in Poſſeſſion.

Firſt, *Flanders* which has always been maintain'd by the Conjunction of the *Dutch*, would immediately be entred by the *Dutch* on one ſide, and the *French* on the other; and muſt fall into their hands with little difficulty.

Secondly, *Spain* cou'd never hold out againſt the *French* by Land, aſſiſted with the Naval Forces of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* by Sea, the Iſlands of the *Mediterranean* muſt ſubmit to the Maſters of the Sea, and *America* would lye like the *Golden Garland* to the Wreſtlers, to be given to the Conquerors.

No Man can imagine, but the Emperor, to whoſe Son ſo Conſiderable a Dominion is allotted, will accept of the Partition for his Part, eſpecially when he ſees how impoſſible it will be to make better Conditions by force.

What the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* are to do, if he ſhould; remains to be debated under another Head.

I'll now ſuppoſe that which to me ſeems very unlikely, That the King of *France* ſhould accept of this Legacy, and claim the Crown of *Spain* for his Grandſon the Duke *D'Anjou*, and attempt to ſet up that Ridiculous Title of a Laſt Will and Teſtament, as the Foundation of his Pretenſion.

Let us Calmly conſider the Conſequences.

1. He inevitably renews the War with the whole Confederacy, that Peace which coſt him ſo much to procure is immediately broken, upon the firſt Invaſion he makes on the Territories of *Spain*, who are a Branch of the Confederacy.

2. He renews the War under inſuperable Diſadvantages, ſuch as are infinitely greater than He lay under before, and ſuch as loudly tell the World, He never will venture to fight the whole Confederacy again. *Viz.* The Multitude of ſtrong Towns and Cities which he ſurrendred to the Confederates, which are a ſufficient Guarantee of the Peace, and the Different Caſe of the Emperor, who is more

than

than twice what he was the laſt War, by his Peace with the *Turks*.

3. If he ſhould make the Duke *D'Anjou* King, *France* would really get nothing by the Bargain, for in One Age the Race would be all *Spaniards* again; Nay, in a few Years Property wou'd prevail, and he wou'd no more let his Brother the Duke of *Burgundy* when King of *France* encroach upon him, than the late King of *Spain* wou'd the preſent King of *France*; We do not want Inſtances in the World, that Intereſt baniſhes all the Ties of Nation and Kindred, when the Duke *D'Anjou* had been King of *Spain* ſome time, he would look upon *Spain* to be his Own, his Native, his Peculiar, and be as far from ſubjecting himſelf to *France*, becauſe he was born there; as if he had never ſeen it: Poſſibly he might be willing to join Intereſt with *France*, and it may be join Forces upon Occaſion; but it muſt be where the Intereſts of the two Nations did not claſh then, and that is almoſt no where, but if ever *France* encroach upon him, ſhe wou'd find him King of *Spain*, not Duke *D'Anjou*.

So that all the King of *France* cou'd get by accepting the Crown of *Spain*, would be a little preſent Satisfaction, to ſee a Son of the Houſe of *Bourbon* on the *Spaniſh* Throne, but as King of *France* he wou'd not be One farthing the better for it.

But this would not be all as is before noted, but whenever the preſent Duke of *Burgundy* comes to Enjoy the Crown of *France*, it will in all Probability be an Eternal Cauſe of Contention between them: For if the Family of *France* has any Title to *Spain*, 'tis in the Eldeſt Son of the Family, and there can be no Colour of a Title in the Second Son while the Eldeſt is alive, but what is founded either in the Gift of the One King or the Other.

As to the Gift of the *Dauphin* to his Second Son the firſt being alive, it cannot be valid; for he has no Power to give away what is his Son's by Inheritance, nor can no more give the Crown of *Spain* from him, than the

Crow

Crown of *France*; if Gift could be pleaded, the Grandfather gave it away from them all before they were born: Nay, if the Duke of *Burgundy* ſhould conſent to it, His Children if ever he has any, will declare, he had nothing to do to give away their Right, any more than the preſent King of *France* had Power to give away the Right of the *Dauphin*; for ſince the Deficiency of that Action in its own Nature is the whole Ground of the *Dauphin*'s Title now, it will directly deſtroy the Title of the Duke *D'Anjou*, for what is a good Argument for him cannot be a bad one againſt him.

As to the Gift of the Defunct King of *Spain*, I ſee nothing in it to build a Pretence of Right on; If he had bequeath'd it to the Right Heir, I preſume, he wou'd not have thought his Title one jot the better for it. And if he had bequeath'd it to the *Grand Seignior*, the King of *France* wou'd not have thought his Title the worſe for it: So that it ſignifies juſt nothing at all.

We come now to the grand Queſtion propoſed.

Queſt. 2. What Meaſures the *Engliſh* ought to take in this Juncture.

The Anſwer muſt be in Two Parts.

1. Suppoſing the *French* King adheres to the Partition agreed upon by the League before-mentioned.

2. Suppoſing the *French* King, for Reaſons which we know not, ſhould think fit to quit the Treaty, and puſh for the whole, on the Pretence of a Will made by the King of *Spain*.

'Tis confeſs'd *England*, ſince her Troops are broke, and her People more divided in Temper than 'twas hop'd they wou'd have been under ſo mild and gentle a Government, makes but a very mean Figure abroad; and were any King at the Head of her Councils as well as Forces but King *William*, hardly any Nation would trouble their Heads to Confederate with her.

But all the World does not yet ſee our weak Side, and the Reputation of the King makes us more formidable a great deal than we really are.

But we are to act according to the Knowledge we have of what our Circumstances really are, not what other Nations may believe them, lest we let them know our Weakness at the Price of our Destruction.

However I'll for the present suppose what all good Men wish: That we were in the same good Posture as the War left us, united in Council, and ready for Action, and willing to preserve the Character we had then in the World.

And *First*, Supposing the King of *France* adheres to the Partition of the *Spanish* Monarchy.

If so, without Question *England* ought to put her self into such a posture as to be able, in Conjunction with the *Dutch*, to force the Emperor and Princes of *Italy* to comply with the Conditions.

At the same time so to maintain the Ballance in the Partition, as to oblige the King of *France* to accept of, and rest contented with the Particulars stipulated in their respective Leagues, without farther Encroachment, and to make themselves Trustees for the rest, in behalf of the Heir.

It is already started as a Query, what if the King of *France* does except of the Partition, and the Emperor shou'd continue to stand out, the King of *France* is then at Liberty to take the whole if he can get it.

No such Matter, I do not pretend to have been privy to the Debates, or of the Council, in the contriving this League, nor to be acquainted with what Provision is made, in case the Emperor refuses to come in, but in order to give a Judgment as near as can be done without Doors, as we call it. I shall briefly state the Reasons, which in my Opinion should move the *English* and *Dutch* to form this League: And the great Reason which, as I conceive, gave Birth to the first Project of this League, setting aside private Reasons of State, was the *maintaining the Ballance of Power in* Europe.

This

This has been the Foundation of all the Wars in our Age againſt the French, and in the laſt Ages againſt the Spaniard and the Emperor.

A juſt Ballance of Power is the Life of Peace. I queſtion whether it be in the Humane Nature to ſet Bounds to its own Ambition, and whether the beſt Man on Earth wou'd not be King over all the reſt if he could. Every King in the World would be the Univerſal Monarch if he might, and nothing reſtrains but the Power of Neighbours; and if one Neighbour is not ſtrong enough for another, he gets another Neighbour to join with him, and all the little ones will join to keep the great one from ſuppreſſing them. Hence comes Leagues and Confederacies; thus the German Proteſtants call'd in the Aſſiſtance of *Guſtavus Adolphus* to match the Power of the Emperor *Ferdinand* the II. and founded the famous League call'd the Concluſions of *Leipſick*, which brought the Imperial Power to the *due Ballance* which it now ſtands at on the Foot of the Treaty of *Weſtphalia*; ſo the French and the Engliſh aſſiſted the Dutch to bring the Spaniſh Power to a Ballance in the time of *Philip* the II: when the Spaniſh Greatneſs began to be terrible to *Europe*, which Ballance was eſtabliſhed in the Peace of *Aix la Chappel*.

So the Power of *France* was brought to a Ballance, but not ſo equal as it might have been, had King *Charles* II. ſtood to his own Propoſals at the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, the Defects of which Peace were in a great Meaſure the Occaſion of this late War, which has been the longeſt, moſt chargeable, and moſt bloody that ever the French Nation has been engaged in ſince the Days of *Francis* the I. their own civil Wars excepted.

This War has brought the power of *France* to a Ballance, ſhe had fortified her Frontiers with a continued Rampart, a Line of ſtrong Cities from *Hunninghen* on the Confines of the *Swiſs*, down the *Rhine*, the *Moſell*, and the *Maes*, to the very Sea-ſide, the greateſt whereof ſhe has been oblig'd to part with, to enable her Enemies to be their own Guarantees; by which in ſome places ſhe is

left

left ſo naked, that ſhe is fain to build new Cities, or fortifie old ones to ſupply the Vacancy, as at *Briſack*, and in other ſhe lyes wholly open, as at *Pigneroll*; ſhe has ſtoop'd to ſuch a peace, as has made her far leſs formidable than before.

Now the precarious Life of the King of *Spain* gave the King of *England* juſt Umbrage, that this Ballance in which our ſafety ſo much conſiſts, ſhould receive a Shock, to the prejudice of the Proteſtant Intereſt, by the Addition of the Spaniſh Dominion to that of *France*.

And here *I* place the Original of the Project, as a probable Conjecture, at leaſt drawn from the Nature of things, according to rational Concluſions from probable premiſes, when better Grounds are made publick, *I* ſhall own my ſelf miſtaken.

When the pretenders to the Spaniſh Succeſſion are conſidered, they are found to be the Emperor and the King of *France*, the Prince of *Bavaria* being dead before.

To let the Emperor poſſeſs the Spaniſh Dominions, would be the overthrowing the Ballance made at the *Weſtphalia* Treaty, by which the Houſe of *Auſtria* already ſtrengthened by the Conqueſt of *Hungaria*, and the peace with the Turks would be too potent for the Princes of *Germany*, nor wou'd the French like well that the Emperor, the Eternal Competitor of *France* upon the *Rhine*, ſhou'd be ſtrengthen'd with ſuch an addition, by which he wou'd ha' been Lord of almoſt half the World.

To let the French poſſeſs the Spaniſh Dominions, would overthrow the Ballance Purchas'd in this War with ſo much Blood and Treaſure, and render fruitleſs the Treaty of *Reſwick*. 'Twou'd eſpecially ha' been Fatal to the Engliſh and Dutch, by the encreaſe of Wealth from the Maſs of Money returning Yearly from the Empires of *Mexico*, and *Peru*, which the French wou'd be better Husbands of than the *Spaniards*; by their encreaſe of Shipping, which wou'd make them too ſtrong for all the World at Sea, and by their ruining the Spaniſh Trade,

which

which is the greateſt and moſt profitable in *Europe*; 'twould immediately unhinge all the Settlement of our Merchants and Factories, and turn the whole Channel of Trade; for the Ports of *Spain* being free to the French as Subjects, all our Negoce that way wou'd be deſtroy'd, then their Neighbourhood in *Flanders*, and in the *Weſt-Indies*, would be intollerable and inſupportable.

'Twould fill a Volume to ſet down the Inconveniencies which *England* and *Holland* muſt expect to feel, in Caſe the *French* were Maſters of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, the *Streights-Mouth* would be like the *Sound*, and all our Ships ſhould pay Toll at *Gibralter*, as they do at *Elſeneur*, your Fiſhing Trade from *New-England* and *Newfoundland* wou'd periſh, for the *French* from the Banks of *Newfoundland* ſhould go free, and you Pay 23 *per Cent.* &c. We muſt erect an Admiralty in the *Weſt-Indies*, or maintain a Fleet there, or our Plantations wou'd be always at his Mercy; our Collonies of *Virginia*, and *New-England*, would eaſily be deſtroy'd, while the French would lye on their backs quite thro' their Country from *Canada* to the City of *Mexico*.

Theſe are ſome of the leſſer Inconveniencies, which, as *I* preſume, were the firſt Motives to the Treaty.

The Confederates therefore not being willing the French ſhou'd have *Spain*, and the French being reſolv'd the Emperor ſhould not have it, a Medium is propoſed, that ſince it was not convenient for *Europe*, that either of them ſhould have it all, and both of them had a Title to it, it ſhould therefore be divided between them in Manner and Form, as aforeſaid.

This is the ſhort Hiſtory of this League, which really has more of Policy than Right in it, for ſtrictly Conſidered, the Right of Succeſſion can devolve but upon one Perſon, let that one be who it will, is not the preſent Buſineſs. But publick good, the Peace of Kingdoms, the General quiet of *Europe* prevails to ſet aſide the Point of nice Juſtice, and determine in favour of the Publick Tranquility.

And

And *I* crave leave to make Two Obſervations here:

Firſt, Our *Jacobite-Proteſtant-Brethren*, whoſe Underſtandings are ſo blind, that they cannot ſee the Intereſt of their Native Country, have here fairly repreſented to them the Condition *England* had now been in, and *Europe* in General, if a Papiſt and Confederate with *France* had been on the Engliſh Throne; if *England* had not had a King who cou'd ſo far Influence the Ambition of the powerful Prince, as to prevent his ſeizing that Monarchy of *Spain*, which none but *England* cou'd hinder him from.

Secondly, Our Non-jurants who hold the right Lines of Princes ſuch Sacred things, may ſee that even among Hereditary Princes themſelves, the Rights of Succeſſion are oftentimes infringed, and the private Intereſt of Princes and Families ſet aſide, when the publick Intereſt of Nations, the Preſervation of Peace, and the keeping a General Ballance of Power among Princes, comes to be the Queſtion, and the Hiſtories of all Ages and Nations give Inſtances to Prove it as well as this.

Having thus run thro' the Reaſons of this League of Partition, the Queſtion is anſwered of courſe, that if the Emperor ſhou'd refuſe to come into the Partition, and puſh for the whole, then the King of *France* is not thereby at Liberty to poſſeſs the whole, if he can, for that wou'd overthrow all the Meaſures upon which the League of Partition is built.

The Emperor is not ſo weak a Prince to refuſe the Kingdom of *Spain* with all its *&c's* in the *Ocean*, *Flanders*, and *America*, but upon ſome Expectation to get more; the Confederates therefore are to preſerve that part which is Deſign'd him free, and then effectually to put it out of his Power to obtain the reſt, and with all not to admit him into the part Reſerv'd for him, till he agrees, to accept it on the Terms propoſed, if he ſhou'd abſolutely refuſe it, which is a ridiculous Suppoſition, there are other Heirs of that Line to have recourſe to; there's no doubt the Crown of *Spain*, need not go a begging for an Heir.

It may be anſwered, If it be thus, it is the Emperor's beſt Courſe to lay his Meaſures for the whole; and if he cannot carry it, he may accept of the Partition at laſt.

That's more than the Objector may be able to prove how far the Confederates may think fit to beſtow the remainder, if the Emperor after a War ſhou'd be reduc'd to accept of it, is more than any one can anſwer, and more than the Emperor will try, if he be not infatuated worſe than ever a certain King was; who, if he had not, might ha' been a King ſtill.

The Second Branch of the Anſwer is ſuppoſing the King of *France* ſhou'd ſo far beget himſelf, as to quit the League of Partition, and Claim the Crown of *Spain* for his Grandſon *l'Duk d'Anjou*, by virtue of the Will of the King Defunct.

It muſt certainly then be the Intereſt of *England* and *Holland*, firſt to put themſelves in ſuch a poſture as may prevent the French King ſeizing of *Spain* it ſelf, and *Flanders* in particular.

And upon the firſt Invaſion of the Territories of *Spain* by the French King, to declare War againſt him in the Name of the whole Confederacy, as an Infringer of the Grand Peace at *Reſwick*.

And then by appearing on the Frontiers in ſuch a formidable manner as ſhall give him Diverſion enough, that he may not be able to enter *Spain* with any conſiderable Forces.

The firſt of theſe things is to be done immediately, by fitting out a good Fleet, which ſhould ſo ſcour the *Mediterranean*, that the French wou'd not be able to do much on the ſide of *Catalonia*; for Experience has told us a Fleet at Sea will make their War in *Catalonia* very uneaſie to them, and by landing a ſmall Force of about Eight or Ten Thouſand Men at *Fonterabia*, which ſhould be ſufficient to Defend that ſide of the Country from the Invaſions of the French.

But this Pamphlet is not wrote to direct Methods, but to argue the general Point.

The Concluſion of the Argument muſt come to that ſort

ſort of People, who have appeared ſuch Champions for our Engliſh Liberty, as to damn all kind of force, as uſeleſs, burthenſom to the Kingdom, and Badges of ſlavery, and all Arguments to be only pretences for ſupporting Arbitrary Deſigns.

If the French ſhou'd attack *Spain*, *I* am far from ſaying *I* am glad they will be convinc'd; but *I* muſt ſay *I* am ſorry the people of *England* have been deluded by their ſpecious pretences.

For if the French carry the Spaniſh Monarchy, for want of our being in a Condition to prevent it; *I* am bold to tell thoſe Gentlemen God Almighty muſt be put to the trouble of working another Miracle to ſave us, or we are reduc'd to a very dangerous Condition.

But ſay they, we have a great Fleet, and in that we are ſafe; it is true, Gentlemen, ſo we are from Invaſion, *I* believe we need not fear all the World; but what is *England* without its Trade, without its Plantation Trade, *Turky* and *Spaniſh* Trade, and where will that be when a French Garriſon is planted at *Cadiz*, and the French Fleet brings home the Plate from *Havana*.

What will the *Virginia* Collony be worth when the French come to be ſtrong in the Lakes of , and have a free Commerce from *Quebeck* to *Mexico* behind ye, what will our Northern Trade be worth in a War, when the Ports of *Oſtend* and *Neuport* are as full of Pirates as *Dunkirk* and St. *Malo*.

A wiſe Man cannot patiently reflect upon the formidable power of *France*, with the Addition of the Spaniſh Dominion, and ſhould he at laſt annex it to the Crown of *France*, who can conſider without Horrour that all the Ports from *Sluce* in *Flanders*, to the *Faro Meſſina* in *Sicily*, ſhould be in the Hands of the French, which is a Coaſt of near 3000 Miles, *Portugal*, *Genoua* and *Leghorn* excepted; and how long they will hold out, is eaſie to imagine.

I know God can prevent Humane Contrivances, and *I* believe he has plac'd King *William* on the Engliſh Throne, on purpoſe to diſappoint this Invincible Monarch in theſe vaſt Deſigns, but no thanks to our Gen-

tlemen that have so weakned both his Hands and his Interest at home, as to make him less able to perform for us what is more our own Advantage than his Majesty's wou'd be, and than the Case requir'd.

As to Ways and Means *I* meddle not with them, *I* leave them to the wise Heads of the Nation, but with Submission to their Judgment, this *I* am positive in, let our Measures be what they will, if we do not keep the Enemy, the French *I* mean, out of *Spain*, we are undone.

In all the Histories of Times and Wars, *I* never read of a General who would not chuse to be Master of the Field, and able to fight his Enemy, rather than to be coop'd up, and bound to defend the Walls of a Town.

If the French get the Spanish Crown, we are beaten out of the Field as to Trade, and are besieged in our own *I*sland, and never let us flatter our selves with our Safety consisting so much in our Fleet; for this *I* presume to lay down as a fundamental Axiom, at least as the Wars go of late, 'tis not the longest Sword, but the longest Purse that conquers. If the *French* get *Spain* they get the greatest Trade in the World in their Hands; they that have the most Trade, will have the most Money, and they that have the most Money, will have the most Ships, the best Fleet, and the best Armies; and if once the *French* master us at Sea, where are we then? And though *I* would not lessen our Fleet, which *I* believe is now the best in the World, yet he that looks back to the *French* Fleet before their Misfortune, will tell you that all our English was not able to look them in the Face if we had no Dutch on our side, and hardly with the Dutch and us together.

I am Answer'd by some, that if the French shou'd have *Spain*, we shall Trade thither still, they cannot do without our Manufactures.

To this, *I* answer, time was *France* could not Trade without our Manufactures. Now they are fallen into them to such a Degree, that they only want Wooll, and they have Hands enough to supply all the World with Manufactures, and they are so supplied with that from one Place or another, that they Buy none of our Goods now, or but a trifle; and

if

if the Ports of *Spain* come to be filled with French, they will fill every Place with their Goods, as well as People.

Beſides, the Laws of Trade when Maſters of the Ports will bring all Nations to Trade under-foot with them, and with great diſadvantages and hardſhips which will in the end ruin all that Trade that does not run thro' their own Hands.

The Preſent King of *France*, like a wiſe Governor, puts his People upon all manner of Improvements; tho' the *Spaniards* are a ſlothful Nation, if the French Diligence comes once to thrive in *Spain*, he knows little of *Spain* that does not know they are capable of Improvements, ſeveral ways to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh Trade.

I'll give but one Inſtance, *Spain* is a very hot Country, and yet ſuch is the Conſtancy of the *Spaniard* to the Old ridiculous Cuſtom, that they wear their Cloaks of courſe black Engliſh Bays, ſhould the French King when he is Maſter of *Spain*, forbid the *Spaniards* the wearing of Bays, and introduce ſome antick French Druget, or other thin Stuff, ſuch as they make in *Normandy*, it wou'd at once deſtroy our Trade of Bays, which is the nobleſt Manufacture in many reſpects that we have in *England*, and ſend 40 Thouſand People who depend on that Trade to beg their Bread, or ſeek other work, which other work muſt of Conſequence leſſen the Employment of other *Poor Families* which it maintain'd before.

I cou'd give many Inſtances of the like Nature, as for one more, ſhould they Prohibit the Exportation of Spaniſh Wooll, and Manufacture it among themſelves, or into *France*; let the Weſt-Country Clothiers ſpeak for themſelves, and ſay what ſtrange work it wou'd make among them, or our *Hamborough* Merchants give an Account what their Trade wou'd come to, where they are out-done already in courſe Cloth, and wou'd ha' no fine over to ſend to Market.

I know not but I may preſent the World with a ſhort Account by it ſelf, of all the Senſible Loſſes our Trade will come under, if the Kingdom of *Spain* ſhould fall into the Hands of the French, tho' methinks it ſhould be needleſs to run thro' it, the meaneſt Underſtanding being capable to know that the greateſt Part of the Wealth of this Nation has been and is ſtill rais'd by the Gainful Trade we have with the *Spaniards*.

The Two Great Queſtions *Further CONSIDERED.*

With ſome Reply to the Remarks.

Non Licet Hominem Muliebriter rixare.

The PREFACE.

THIS Billinſgate *Author ſhou'd have gone without any other Notice than the Contempt of Silence; no Anſwer being the beſt Reply to ſo much ſcurrility, had he not made himſelf ſuch a Champion for the* Engliſh *Nation, and Parliament*; who, God knows, need no ſuch Advocate, *and made himſelf a perſonal Antagoniſt to the Author of the Pamphlet he Remarks on.*

I ſhall ſay nothing at all to the ill Language and ſcurrilous Terms he beſtows on me, but Conclude with a Remark on it in the Lines of a late Poet.

That Diſputants, when Reaſons fail,
Have one ſure Shift, and that's to Rail.

Since then his Paſſion has put him out of Temper, and tranſported him beyond the bounds of Decency and good Manners, I ſhall leave him to come to himſelf again, by the helps of Time, Sleep, and ſuch other proper Remedies for Men that are Craz'd and Diſtemper'd, and Addreſs my ſelf to that part of Mankind who are Maſters of their Senſes.

Of

Of all Men in this Town, the Author of the Two Queſtions Conſider'd, was never yet ſuſpected of being a Courtier, an Advocate for ſtanding Armies, an Inſulter of Parliaments, but juſt the contrary, as will appear, if ever he is call'd to ſhew himſelf.

But becauſe he took the Liberty to put his Thoughts in Print, on the Extraordinary Juncture of Affairs on Account of the Spaniſh *Succeſſion, and he finds that ſome People are miſtaken both in him, and in the Intent of his Book; he therefore Craves leave of the Publick to Explain himſelf in ſome things, in which he little thought any Body wou'd have been ſo weak as to miſtake him.*

The Two Great Queſtions Further CONSIDERED.

BEFORE I enter into the Particulars of the Book I am going to vindicate, I muſt deſire the Reader to obſerve that this Book was wrote before the *French* King had declar'd He would accept the King of *Spain*'s Will, or had receiv'd the Duke *d'Anjou* as King of *Spain*.

And therefore when I ſpeak of the King of *France*'s ſeizing of *Spain*, or ſeizing of *Flanders*, I deſire to be underſtood ſeizing it for himſelf, to annex it to the Crown of *France*, a thing that hath all along, by all the Princes and States of *Europe*, been counted, and really is, inconſiſtent with the Peace of *Europe*; and any Man, but ſuch an Author as our Remarker, wou'd underſtand me ſo, when I ſay *Page* 22. and quoted by him, *Page* 9. *It muſt certainly be the Intereſt of* England *and* Holland *firſt to put themſelves in ſuch a Poſture, as may prevent the* French *King's ſeizing of* Spain; and the next Words expreſs it directly, *viz. And upon the firſt Invaſion of the*

Territories of Spain, *to declare War againſt him in the Name of the whole Confederacy, as an Infringer of the Grand Peace of* Reſwick.

I need but appeal to any Man's Reaſon whether *the French King's ſeizing or invading of* Spain can mean any thing, but *the French King's ſeizing or invading of* Spain, and is as explicite as Words can make it, and wou'd certainly be a Breach of the Peace of *Reſwick*.

The Remarker, *Page 6.* tells the World *the Queſtion what the Engliſh ought to do*, is a Shooing-horn to draw on what ſome People mightily want a ſtanding Army, and then in his rude Dialect runs on againſt the Soldiery, and when he has done, to put a Value on his Argument, magnifies our Nation to ſuch a degree, as no Man, who is ſenſible of the Power and Deſigns of our Neighbours, can allow to be ſo much as rational.

I muſt firſt anſwer his preſumptive Suggeſtion, and then proceed.

I take leave to aſſure all the World that ſhall read theſe Sheets, that by all the Expreſſions of *Forces*, *Poſture of the Nation*, and the like, I do mean, and do deſire to be underſtood to mean, ſuch Force, and no other, ſuch a Poſture of Defence, and no other, as by the King, Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, ſhall be thought neceſſary for the Safety of the Kingdom, and Support of our Trade and Intereſt in the World.

Why elſe do I ſay, *England* ſhou'd put her ſelf into ſuch a Poſture? By *England*, an Engliſhman always underſtands the Parliament of *England*, and no Man in his Wits wou'd imagine otherwiſe.

Now did ever Parliament in *England* talk in this Gentleman's Dialect? *That if we have a Fleet, and no Army, no matter if all the World Confederated againſt us; and did ever we get any thing by Foreign Alliances? Are Confederacies advantageous to us?* And the like.

Surely, they that are of the Opinion that *England* is able to Fight the whole World, know very little of the World, and do not remember that in this very War had we had no Confederates, the War had been in our own Bowels,

Bowels, whereas this we got by Foreign Alliances, that we carried the War to our Neighbours Doors; had not the *Spaniards*, *Germans*, and *Dutch*, joined in a Confederacy, the French King had met with no Work to Divert him from giving King *James* such Powerful Assistance as might have prevented our Revolution; none but a Mad Man can deny that 'twas the Union of the Confederates that was the Protection of *England*.

The Remarker tells us the Revolution was a Miracle, and so it was; but, says he, *'Twas a Miracle that we did not do it without Foreign help.* I am sure it wou'd ha' been a Miracle if we had; and I Appeal to any Man that has not forgot the State of *England* at that time to be Judge of it.

That we shou'd not reduce King *James* to Reason by our own Native Strength, was a Miracle, says he; That is, that we did not rise and pull his Army to pieces; if this Gentleman had not forgot his own Story, he cou'd never thus contradict himself.

If our own Native Strength is so much Superior to an Army, that 'tis a Miracle they did not recover themselves without other help; then *Ridiculus mus*, the dreadful Spectrum of a Standing Army is lost, and all our Danger of being enslav'd is at an end.

I have as great an Opinion of the Bravery of the English Nation, as any Man; but it does not use to be the Temper of the English to run on such Rhodomantado's.

'Tis no disparageing the English Nation, to say, That as Affairs now Stand, they are not a match for the French Power without the help of Confederates. I am no Traitor to my Country, as he is pleased to call me, if I own *that our Militia are not able to Fight a French Army.* But Grant they were, 'tis not Invasion of our Native Country that we are upon, God forbid we shou'd have Occasion to Provide against that; but 'tis always the Interest of *England* to keep Danger at a distance, and it has been the Practice of *England* to do it by Leagues and Confederacies, as the only proper Method.

This

This Gentleman upbraids me with Reading; truly I have Read all the Hiſtories of *Europe*, that are extant in our Language, and ſome in other Languages, and amongſt the reſt, I have Read that Queen *Elizabeth* ſupported the Dutch, and ſupplied them with Men and Money, that ſhe did the like by the Hugonots of *France*, and afterwards made a League offenſive with the King of *France*; and why? All our Hiſtories agree it was to keep the Forces of *Philip* the Second ſo employ'd, that he ſhou'd not be at leiſure to turn all his Power upon her. Thus ſhe manag'd a War with him abroad, and kept *England* from being the Field of Blood; and this *England* got by a Confederacy abroad.

And I'll give another Inſtance, which no Man can have the Face to deny; when the Spaniſh Fleet lay at Anchor, and had yet received no ſuch conſiderable Damage from our Ships, as to prevent their Landing, the Dutch lay with their Fleet on the Flemiſh Coaſt at the procurement of the Queen, and thereby prevented the Duke of *Parma* bringing over 30000 Spaniards into *England*, which if they had done, the Fate of *England* muſt have been tryed by the Sword, and on her own Ground. *Behold the Benefit of Allies.*

If I have Panegyrick'd on the Reputation of the King at the Head of a War-like Nation, I have done nothing, but what all the World own his Due, and what we have the Authority of Parliaments for, who have own'd him for the Saviour of theſe Nations from Popery and Arbitrary Power, at the Expence of his own Perſonal Hazard. I need not Quote the many Addreſſes of Parliament, as the Voice of the whole Nation, for my Authority: As for places at Court or Penſions, the Author never had nor deſired any, but hopes a Man my be allowed to ſpeak what Truth and Honour obliges every Man to do of a King, that has deſerv'd ſo much of the Engliſh Nation, without the Reproach of a railing Scribler.

I muſt further Explain my ſelf in Defence of what I thought no Man wou'd have had Baſeneſs enough to Sug-

geſt.

geſt. That when I ſpeak of a ſort of People, *who have appear'd ſuch Champions of our Engliſh Liberties, as to damn all kind of Force, as uſeleſs, burthenſome to the Kingdom, Badges of Slavery, and all Arguments to be only pretences for ſupporting Arbitrary Deſigns*, I ſhould mean by theſe the Parliament of *England*.

Far be it from the Thoughts of any honeſt Man to imagine ſuch a thing; nor is it rational that I cou'd Suggeſt ſuch a thing of the Parliament, for as his own Words confutes him, *The Parliament*, ſays he, *never did damn all Force as uſeleſs*. Very true, Sir, how then can you imagine any Man cou'd mean the Parliament, who never did any ſuch thing? Nothing can be ſo abſurd, and there I leave it.

But ſince I am charged with intending thoſe whom I really never thought of, nor no Rational Man cou'd ſuppoſe, give me leave to tell the World, who it is I do mean, when I ſay, *There are a ſort of People who have appear'd ſuch Champions of our Engliſh Liberty, as to damn all kind of Force as uſeleſs*. I mean the Pampleteering Club, who have ſet themſelves to Blaſpheme God, and Ruin their Native Country, and in Print to ſow the Seeds of Miſunderſtanding and Diſtruſt between the King and his People.

The Club where the Bleſſed Trinity is openly derided, in Print lampoon'd, and ſhamefully in the Face of a Proteſtant Government abus'd and ridicul'd.

That Club of Men who pretend to guide Parliaments, and preſcribe to them what they are to do; who are ſo openly againſt Force, that they leave us naked for a Prey, even to the moſt Contemptible Treaſons.

That Club that ſent out a blaſphemous Poem lately under the borrow'd Name of *Clito*, where the Deity of our Saviour is denied, and then the very Being of the Engliſh Monarchy undermin'd.

That Club that denies Engliſhmen the uſe of their Reaſon, and will not allow that even the Parliament of *England* can appoint ſuch Powers as are neceſſary to our Defence.

Theſe are the Champions of ovr Liberty, that I directly mean, *who damn all kind of Force as uſeleſs*.

Theſe

These are they who have sent out this Pamphlet into the World, and have brought the Author of the Two Questions to the Bar of the House right or wrong; these are the Men who tell us Confederacies and Alliances are useless, and all Forces oppressive, that say they are not yet rid of Slavery, because the King has his Guards left; as if Forces in *England* by consent of Parliament cou'd be a Grievance.

Who tho' they cry up Parliaments, as those by whom Kings reign, yet will not allow them to be Judges of what is, or what is not Convenient, but will have the Lord Treasurer, Lord Chancellor, and Lord Admiral be nam'd by the Parliament, because the Word *England* is added to their Titles.

These, and none but these, are the Persons who I mean all along, when I say, *They have deluded the People of* England *by their specious Pretences*; and nothing can be plainer, than that they have carried on a Pen and Ink War against the Reputation of the King obliquely, and sometimes directly reproaching him, with Designs to enslave the Nation, whom he came to set free, and to rob us of those Liberties which he ventur'd his Life to save.

These are the Men who I mean when I say, *they have weakned his Hands, and his Interest at home*, which they have certainly done, by endeavouring to lessen his Reputation, and to suggest to his Subjects, that he will invade their Liberties.

These are the Men who think they cannot be answered, without concerning the Parliament in their Quarrel; who to bring the King into Contempt with his Subjects, for whom he has done so much, and from whom he has received so many Thanks and Acknowledgments, represent him attempting to destroy our Liberties by Standing Armies; and if they are answered, pretend to fright their Adversaries with the Parliament, as if nothing cou'd be said to the Point, without reflecting on the Parliament.

To these People let me take the Liberty to say, tho' the

Matter

Matter of Armies was no ways the Case in this Affair, that this Author does affirm, and will answer it any where.

That a Standing Army in England *in time of Peace is not against Law, nor inconsistent with the Constitution of* England. *Provided it be by Consent of Parliament.* To avoid all manner of Disputes in this Point, my Authority is unquestionable, being the Parliament of *England* themselves, or Convention, which is equivolent in the Sixth Article of the Declaration of the Rights of the People, declar'd by the Commons of *England*. These are the Words.

That the raising and keeping a Standing Army within the Kingdom in time of Peace (unless it be by consent of Parliament) *is unlawful.*

This was once urged to these Gentlemen before, but as a thing they cou'd never answer; they took no notice of it, and here I leave it with this Remark.

That I do, and every *English* Protestant will always consent to have such, and so many Forces rais'd, maintain'd, and kept up in *England*, and no more; as the King, Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament shall think needful for our common Preservation, and the Safety of the Nation's Interests.

This is the middle way between both Extreams, and nothing in the Book this Remarker treats so scurvily, can give any rational Ground to charge me with proposing farther.

Nor has the King himself attempted to keep up any Forces, but with Consent of Parliament, and has assur'd us he never will.

I have done with this railing Author, and indeed had not meddled with him at all, only to explain my self in the Persons I mean thro'out the Book he reflects on; and methinks no Man cou'd imagine any Author wou'd be such a Fool to treat the Parliament of *England* in such a manner, as I have done the People I speak of, while he knows the Power of the Parliament to crush such a one with the Breath of their Mouth.

Without troubling the Reader any more with my Remarker, or but by the by, where I am oblig'd to come athwart him, I shall take this Opportunity to say what I wou'd

wou'd have ſaid before, had it been known that the King of *France* wou'd have declar'd his Grandſon King of *Spain*.

And I ſhall lay it down as a further Anſwer to the grand Queſtion.

What Meaſures England *ought to take?*

The League for the Partition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy being not made publick, and propos'd to the *Engliſh* Parliament, ſays ſome, is no League at all, and therefore *England* has nothing at all to do with it.

If what ſuch ſay be true, *which yet I do not believe*, then whenever his Majeſty pleaſe to call a Parliament, and acquaint them of it, *it becomes an Engliſh League*, for no Man ever yet diſputed, but that the Power of making Leagues and Treaties, either for Peace or War, was committed to the Kings of *England*, nor can he tell us of a League ever made in *England*, which was firſt diſcuſs'd in Parliament, when we had a King to be treated with.

All that I have yet ſaid we ought to do, amounts to no more than this, that *England* ought to put her ſelf into ſuch a Poſture with the reſt of her Neighbours, as that ſhe may be able to preſerve the Peace lately purchaſed at ſo dear a Rate, and to preſerve her Trade, upon which the whole Nation ſo much depends.

If People will have me to mean a ſtanding Army whether I will or no, I cannot help it; but I ſay again it may be done without a Standing Army, and where is your Argument then? Of which I cou'd ſay more, but I have not room for it here.

I did affirm it was a weak thing of the King of *Spain* to pretend to give his Kingdom by Will, and I am of the Opinion we ſhall hear that he really did not do ſo; that is, that there was ſome Practices made uſe of to procure ſuch a Will, as in the true Senſe of a laſt Will and Teſtament makes it void in its own Nature.

But be it which way it will, it is an odd way of devolving the Succeſſion of Crowns; and here I cannot help meeting our Remarker again: "That notwithſtanding

"all

"all Deeds of Gift, or other Titles whatever, if the "good People of *Spain* own him as their King, and al- "low him the Soveraignty, he has the moſt undoubted "Title to the Kingdom of any in the World.

Though our Author is not worth anſwering, having a right Notion in his Head, but not the Senſe to put it into Engliſh, I ſhall tell him,

That in the main his Argument is true, and yet the Conſequence is falſe. For,

The good People of *Spain*, as he calls them, whoſe Country is their own, have all along agreed that their Crown ſhall deſcend by the direct Line, to the lawful Iſſue of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, Succeſſors to *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, in whom the contending Crowns of *Arragon* and *Caſtile* were united; this our Author may find ſtipulated in the Contract between thoſe two Families, and ſign'd to by the Council, call'd by them the great Council of *Spain*, which is the ſame thing with them as a Parliament. Thus the good People of *Spain* acquieſc'd, and have all along ſubmitted to the Succeſſors of that Family, as their undoubted rightful Kings.

Now if it be the People's Act and Deed, that the Succeſſion of the Houſe of *Arragon* or *Auſtria* ſhall poſſeſs the Crown of *Spain*, then the Duke *D'Anjou* has no more Title to the Crown of *Spain* than the Czar of *Muſcovy*, as I ſaid before, while the Dauphin and the Duke of *Burgundy* are alive, unleſs the People of *Spain* legally Convocated had Declar'd the Throne vacant.

And to go on with the Argument, in the ſame Notion of the People's Right to make Kings, which is what theſe Gentlemen are ſo fond of.

When the People of a Nation have by any publick Act, *Legally made*, entail'd the Crown, or committed the Government of themſelves, or what he pleaſes to call it, to ſuch or ſuch a Family, and ſuch and ſuch Heirs, I hope they will allow then that ſuch and ſuch Heirs have a Right, till the ſame which gave them their Right, in the ſame legal Manner do publickly reſcind, alter, or repeal the former Settlement on which that Right was founded.

If

If this be true, then where is this Publick act of the People of *Spain* to reſcind the Former Title of the Houſe of *Arragon*? To ſay they have not diſclaim'd the Duke *d'Anjou*, what a ridiculous Argument is that, the Settlement they have agreed to, is not Repeal'd, nor the Great Council of the State been call'd to Debate it; nor is there any need of it, for the Heirs are in Being, the Throne is not Vacant.

Now if you will form a Legal Title for the Duke *d'Anjou*, on this Gentleman's Notion of the Peoples Right, it muſt be thus.

The *Dauphin* is the Immediate Heir, but he refuſes to accept of the Crown for himſelf, and his Eldeſt Son; then the Great Council of the State, which is the People of *Spain*, ought in this Emergency to have been call'd, to Conſider to whom they wou'd diſpoſe of the Crown, or to whom they wou'd Submit; and if this be true, as *I* am ſure by this Doctrine it cannot be otherwiſe, they may as well beſtow their Crown on the Emperor of *Morocco*, *ſaving his being a Mahometan*, as on the Duke *d'Anjou*.

Alſo, if all Titles be deriv'd thus from the People, and any one that they will Accept, is Lawful King: Why ſhou'd I be blam'd for ſaying, 'twas a weak thing for the King of *Spain* to give away his Kingdom by his Will, which he had no Power to do?

It had been much wiſer to have call'd the Great Council of the Nation together, and have caus'd them to ſettle the Succeſſion, as they thought fit, as the only Perſons who had a Right to do it.

Another Conſequence I muſt draw from this Doctrine of the Peoples Right, which the Gentlemen are not Hiſtorians enough it ſeems to know.

If it be the Peples Right to diſpoſe of the Government as they ſee fit, *as in the Caſe of a Vacancy of the Throne No body doubts*; then let the Title to the Crown of *Spain*, be whoſe it will, 'tis none of the Duke *d'Anjou*'s; for in the famous Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, where the Match was made, from whence this Title does proceed; the Renunciation made by the *French* to the Crown of *Spain*; was

Sign'd

Sign'd on both ſides, by the Princes of the Blood on behalf of the French, and by the Grandees and Plenipotentiaries on the behalf of *Spain*; and this was to ſignifie, that it was an Agreement, not Perſonal only, but National; and that therein the People of *Spain* did renounce all Subjection to the Iſſue of that Marriage.

Now to pretend this can be reſcinded by the Will of the late King, or the Call to the Duke *d'Anjou* from Six or Seven Counſellors nominated by the King, this is to deſtroy all the Pretence of the Right of the People, and humbly Conceive by their Doctrine, the preſent Title of the Duke *d'Anjou* is fallen to the Ground.

What the People of *Spain* may do when a French Power may have put the Duke *d'Anjou* in Poſſeſſion, and they ſee no body to help them, *I* cannot tell, but at preſent he has no viſible Title, either from the Call or Conſent of the People, or by Legal Succeſſion.

'Tis next proper to Enquire what is all this to us who is King of *Spain*?

I Confeſs *I* ſee leſs Cauſe to apprehend Danger from *Spain*, under this way of Succeſſion, than *I* ſhou'd have done if the French had attempted to Poſſeſs it as a Devolution to their Monarchy, and put it all into one Government, which is what *I* meant, and what any Man that underſtands Engliſh muſt underſtand by it, when *I* ſaid, Page and quoted by him, P. 13.

If the French carry the Spaniſh Monarchy.

Truly, If the French carry the Spaniſh Monarchy, that is, obtain the Poſſeſſion of it to themſelves, *I* appeal it to all the World if we are not in a dangerous Condition; and how fooliſh is it to ſay with our Author, P. 14. *I care not who is King of* France *or* Spain, *ſo the King of* England *Governs according to Law.* 'Tis a barbarous and impudent Reflection on the King, who never yet has broke any of our Laws, and has no Relation to the Caſe in hand, but to ſhow that the Publiſher wants Manners as well as Senſe.

But now the French King has resolv'd to make the Duke *d'Anjou* King of *Spain*, what is our Danger from that?

I shall not go much on Conjecture, but *I* shall go on the same foot as before.

France can Propose no Benefit fairly by it, but the drawing the *Spaniards* off from the Confederates, and Leagueing them with himself.

If he will do thus, he will strengthen his Interest very much, as well as weaken his Enemies; but then he must be sure not to encroach upon the Spanish Monarchy; which if he does, as *I* said in the other part of this Discourse, he will find the Duke *d'Anjou* King of *Spain*, as well as a Prince of *Bourbon*.

But if the King of *France* shou'd put the Duke *d'Anjou* upon such Methods of Government, as shou'd recover the Spanish Greatness, and make that Wealthy Nation Masters of themselves again, as they formerly were, and find out ways to Unite the Interests of the two Nations, the Ballance of Power in *Europe* is again quite overturn'd, and there is our Danger.

Before *I* descend to Particulars, I'll explain the Terms to avoid the Impertinence of another Remarker.

If the King of *France* shou'd find out a way to Unite the Interest of the two Nations, by this *I* understand in short, making the Prosperity of one, necessary for the Safety of the other, and so *vice versa*.

I cou'd explain my self how this may be done too, but 'tis too large for a Pamphlet, joining Interests is joyning Nations. Affinities, Leagues, and Treaties, are trifles; where has there been more Intermarriages, than between the two Northern Crowns? And yet never more Jealousies, nor difference of Interest.

Where has there been more Antipathies, more contrariety in Temper, and Religion, than between the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*? And yet their Interest has overcome all Animosities, and made them strict Confederates.

To say a strict Confederacy and Conjunction of Interests between *Spain* and *France* will do us no harm, is the Effect of a stupid ignorance; and no Man can say it, but he

he that has the Face to say Foreign Alliances are of no use to us.

'Tis plain, the Trade we drive to *Spain*, is without Dispute, the best, the greatest, and most profitable Trade we have; 'tis plain and known to all Men that understand that Trade, that 'tis driven by way of Factory, and carried on by Englishmen, and by English Stocks; I'll lay the present Case upon one Article only.

If the French obtain so much by their Amity with *Spain*, that upon every Breach with *France*, our Merchants and their Effects shall be seized in the Spanish Dominions, as is the Custom of the Country: Whenever the French please to insult us, we are at their Mercy; if we break with them, we are ruin'd.

Why have we all along been so tender of a Peace with *Spain*? Why so careful not to Affront them? Why so ready to Protect them with our Fleet and Forces, but becaufe our Effects there are so Considerable, that the very Soul of our Trade is Dependant upon it; and is there no Danger in having all this lye at the Mercy of the French?

Some think all the World must Trade with us, and our Manufactures will Force their own way, and the French can do us no harm, says our Wise Remarker, "If the "Lords of the Treasury wou'd take care to prevent the "Exportation of Wooll.

He might as well ha' thrown that upon the Parliament too, unless he can make it out that the Lords have not prevented it.

But he is as blind a Merchant, as he is a Geographer, when he says, P. 21. *Portugal* is environ'd with the Territories of *France* and *Spain*, when every Body knows, not a Foot of the Territories of *France* comes within a Hundred Leagues of *Portugal*; and in the same Page talks of Forces Landing in *Holland*, and forcing their way thro' the *Spanish Netherlands* into *Germany*, which is no more the Road out of *Holland* into *Germany*, than to go to *West-Chester*, is the Road to *Edinburgh*; I suppose this Gentleman never went up the *Rhine* into *Germany*: And then

to mend the matter, tells us that is the Way to come on the back of *Spain*, in which he forgets to Conſult his Map again, where he wou'd ha' found the whole Kingdom of *France*, with the *Swiſs Cantons*, or the *Savoyards*, between *Spain* and the neareſt part of *Germany*, beſides the *Alps* and the *Pyrenees* to get over, and the French to be fought with: This is ſuch a Marcher of an Army, the Devil wou'd not be a Muſqueteer under him.

And thus infatuated he is in Trade; tho' there were really no Wool went out of *England*, yet the *French*, *Dutch* and *Germans* would always be advancing upon our Manufactures, our *Engliſh* Wooll is a great Commodity in *France*, but in *Holland*, and at *Hamburgh* it is not half ſo valu'd, and yet they out-do us in many of our Manufactures.

Beſides, *Scotland* and *Ireland* are Back-doors, at which our Wooll manifeſtly goes Abroad in quantities, the reſt is by Stealth, and what can the Lords of the Treaſury do in that. But he that loves to Cavil, will have ſomething to ſay to every Body.

I think *I* have ſtated a Caſe wherein a Union of Intereſt between *France* and *Spain* will be very Fatal to Trade. *I* Refer the Reader to what *I* have hinted in the former Book for more of the like.

I deſcend now to Matters of Strength; all Men muſt allow that the Proſperity of this, and of moſt Nations, depends upon Peace; for if Peace be not preſerv'd, Trade muſt ſuffer; and if Trade ſuffer, the Poor ſuffer, and ſo on.

Now, as is already noted, the Ballance of Power is the Life of Peace, and here is your Ballance broken; as *I* ſaid before, *I* ſay again; it is not enough to ſay we have a good Fleet, tho' it be the beſt in the World, and *I* do not think our Remarker can prove that to be a Contradiction, any more than he can prove that to go by *Germany* is the way to come on the Back of *Spain*.

If our Fleet were Maſters at Sea, 'tis true it might preſerve us from Invaſion, and we are not afraid of it, but a Thouſand Men of War wou'd not entirely ſuppreſs the Privateers of *France* and *Spain* from injuring our Trade, and ſnapping up our Merchants; nor wou'd a Fleet ever reduce

reduce the *French* in Conjunction with the *Spaniard* to Peace with you, if they were whole and unbroken in their Land Forces.

Nor is it enough if a Fleet cou'd ſecure our Ships; if your Peace be precarious, 'tis no Peace; and if you are not a Maſter for your Adverſaries, you ſhall have no Peace at all any longer than they pleaſe.

Why do all Nations covet to ſtrengthen themſelves by Leagues and Confederacies, but to put themſelves into a Condition to be fear'd by their Neighbours; and if we leave our ſelves without Forces, and without Alliances abroad, we are like to be very little valued by Neighbours.

From all theſe Conſiderations I think this Concluſion is very natural. That *England* ought ſo to Act, as to oblige the *French* to perform all the Leagues, Articles and Agreements which they have entred into with us, and which the King for Preſervation of our Peace and Trade has thought fit to engage them in for.

Of what Value will the *French* King make any Treaties with the *Engliſh* Nation, if at his Pleaſure they ſhall be laid aſide, without any Notice taken by us? If he eſteems us not in a Condition to reſent a Breach of Faith, when our Intereſt is ſo much engag'd, what Notice can we expect he ſhou'd ever take of us in any Treaty?

This is certainly the way to make it true, that no Nation will trouble their Heads to Confederate with us; if when we have Confederated with them, we let the Enemy inſult us all, and bauk our Confederates in ſuch Reſentments, as the nature of the thing requires.

If the *French* King can be reduc'd to Reaſon without a War, and an Army or Fleet, no doubt 'tis beſt, but any of them are leſs Evils than a Union of Intereſts between *Spain* and *France*, and ſuch a Confederacy, as may hereafter league againſt *England*, to the Deſtruction of our Confederates, and of our Trade.

The Debate here is not a Standing Army in *England*, but the Kingdom of *Spain* falling into the *French* Intereſts, let the King and the Parliament alone to the Methods, if it may be done by paying Foreign Forces, or by no Forces, *in*

the Name of God, Amen: But to ſay 'tis nothing to us who is King of *Spain*, is as ridiculous as to ſay 'tis no matter to us who has the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

And if I were to ſpeak of annexing the *Spaniſh* Dominions to the Crown of *France*, I believe it wou'd be leſs Loſs to *England* to give the *French* the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*, than to ſuffer it.

An Enquiry into Occaſional Conformity,

SHEWING,

That the Diſſenters are no ways concern'd in it.

1702

HE that Oppoſes his own Judgment againſt the Current of the Times, ought to be back'd with unanſwerable Truths; and he that has that Truth on his Side, is a Fool, as well as a Coward, if he is afraid to own it, becauſe of the Currency or Multitude of other Mens Opinions.

'Tis hard for a Man to ſay, all the World is miſtaken but himſelf; but if it be ſo, who can help it?

But ſince 'tis not likely a Single Vote ſhou'd prevail upon Eſpous'd Errors, in an Age when every one is ſo fond of themſelves, he that ſtarts Truth by himſelf, muſt expect the World will ſtand ſtill and look on till they ſee the Iſſue.

The Act depending in the Houſe of Commons about Occaſional Conformity has ſet abundance of Heads to Work in the World; and be the Houſe in the Right, or in the Wrong, I know my own Buſineſs, and their Temper too well to meddle with it: But I pretend to ſay, that all

Men

Men I have met with, who have meddled with the Argument, either in Print or otherwiſe, are manifeſtly Miſtaken.

With more Humility therefore than I owe to any Man, I ask leave not to be Cenſur'd till I am Heard; and thoſe who call me Arrogant before, reprove me with more Arrogance than is their ſhare among their Fellow Creatures.

But ſince I, *who was altogether Born in Sin*, have undertaken to teach my Superiors, I deſire to explain my ſelf before they caſt me out of the Synagogue.

For as that Blind Man thought 'twas a Marvellous thing they ſhould not know whence he came that had opened his Eyes.

So to me 'tis every jot as wonderful to find no Body of my Mind, and yet be Poſitively aſſured that I am in the Right.

The Subject I am upon needs no Introduction, the Hiſtory is in every Mans Knowledge; the Parliament are upon a Bill to prevent Occaſional Conformity, and about that Bill the Preſs ſwarms with Pamphlets; the Pulpit ſounds with Exaltations on one Hand, and Deprecations on the other; every one ſpeak their Opinions, ſome their Hopes, ſome their Fears, and ſo it ſhou'd have been to the end of the Chapter, if I cou'd have found but one middle Sort, that, free from Prejudice of Parties, cou'd have diſcern'd the Native State of the Caſe as it really is, diſcover'd from the Paſſions and Follies of Men.

About their Act of Parliament I affirm moſt of the People I have met with are Miſtaken; and that I may be as Explicit as I can, I ſhall enquire more particularly who are miſtaken, how, and then I doubt not the Sequel of this Paper ſhall make it appear that the Fact is true.

Firſt, All thoſe People who deſign'd the Act as a Blow to the Diſſenting Intereſt in *England*; are miſtaken.

Secondly, All thoſe who take it as a Prelude or Introduction to the further Suppreſſing of the Diſſenters, and a Step to Repealing the Toleration, or intend it as ſuch, are Miſtaken.

Thirdly, All thoſe who think the Diſſenters at at all con-

cern'd in it, or have design'd to Mortifie them by it, are Mistaken.

Fourthly, All those Hot-Spurs of Divinity who Prophesie Destruction from the Pulpit, and from this Step pretend to foretel that the time of Plund'ring their Brethren is at Hand, are Mistaken.

Fifthly, All those Flegmatick Dissenters who fancy themselves undone, and that Persecution and Desolation is at the Door again, are Mistaken.

Sixthly, All those Dissenters, who are really at all Disturb'd at it, either as an Advantage gain'd by their Enemies, or as a real Disaster upon themselves, are Mistaken.

Seventhly, All those Dissenters who Deprecate it as a Judgment, or wou'd Vote against it, if it were in their Power, are Mistaken.

Eighthly, That all those who begun or promoted this Bill with a Design to Ruin, Weaken, and Destroy the Intereſt or Body of the Dissenters in *England*, are Mistaken.

Not that *I* hereby suppose the Parliament or the Persons Originally concern'd in moving this Bill, did it in meer Kindness to the Dissenters, in order to Refine and Purge them from the Scandals, which some People had brought upon them, that 'twas an Action of Christian Charity to the Dissenters, to Prevent and Detect Frauds and Hypocrisie in Religion, and to clear their Reputation.

I never yet saw or read of a Division of Parties in any Nation, but the Hot Heads of both Parties were always for Enflaming the Reckoning; if the Hot Men of the Dissenters have done any Mischief, I am sorry for it; but let us examine a little what other Hot men wou'd be now a doing.

No sooner was Queen *Ann* settl'd upon the Throne of *England*, and had declar'd that the Church of *England* shou'd be the Men of Her Favour, as being the Church She had been Educated in, and ever constant to, but these Hot Men fly out upon their Brethren with all the Excesses of their furious Temper.

Nothing wou'd serve them, but this Queen and Parliament must, Root and Branch, blast the Dissenters with their

their Breath, blow up their Intereſt in the Nation, and we ſhou'd be all one Church and one People, of a ſudden; 'twas to be done with a Blow all at once, and ſo certainly, that no poſſible doubt could be made of it.

But Her Majeſty was pleas'd to let theſe People know from her own Mouth, that for as much as concerned Her, they were Miſtaken; in that, upon the Addreſs of the Diſſenters to Her, She gave them her Royal Word for Her Protection, and whenever She breaks it, we ſhall all be Miſtaken.

Upon this the Pulpit, that Drum Eccleſiaſtick began the War, and Mr. *Sachavrell*, in his Sermon at *Oxford*, Dooms all the Diſſenters to Deſtruction, without either Bell, Book, or Candle; not regarding common Decency, not reſpecting his good Manners to the Queen, nor his Deference to the Parliament; but tells them 'tis their Duty, if they will be true Members of the Church of *England*, to lift up a Standard againſt the Phanaticks, and the like; as much as to ſay, *Madam, whatever your Majeſty has promis'd, You muſt break Your Word*; and *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, we will have you do it.*

Now all theſe Gentlemen have liv'd to ſee themſelves Miſtaken; and if they retain any Expectations of ſeeing it fulfill'd, they muſt exerciſe their Faith upon it, as a thing *in Futuro*, and believe that ſome time or other Her Majeſty will break her Word; but as yet there is no great Probability, for hitherto we have ſeen we are all miſtaken.

But to revive their Expectations, comes a Bill into the Houſe for preventing Occaſional Conformity, this has been matter of great Triumph to ſome Gentlemen, who upon this Act revive their common Diſcourſe, and are pleas'd to treat the Diſſenters in this manner: *Well, Gentlemen, now down you go, the Parliament are a beginning with you, and they don't uſe to do Buſineſs by halves, they have taken the Inſulted Church into Conſideration, they will reduce you, and this is the firſt Step, you ſhall ſoon ſee ſome more on't: We have got a Church Parliament now, and down ye go, this Bill will effectually Ruin your Intereſt, and bring all your Great Men off from you.*

This

This brings us close to the Point; and 'tis no small matter for any one to shew these Gentlemen how they are mistaken.

First, 'Tis time for these Gentlemen to tell us what the Parliament will do when they either know it, or the House has declar'd their Intentions; and till they have, 'tis a Presumption some Houses would have taken Notice of, for any People to pretend to lead them to their Business; and therefore when they tell us this is a Taste of the rest they are preparing for us, I must say, either they are too well acquainted with the Mind of the House, or they are all Mistaken; and as to the Blow this Bill is to the Dissenters Interest in *England*,

As far as I may be allow'd to give my Judgement, and as the Nature of the Thing seems to speak it self; 'tis plain this Bill is no Damage at all to the Dissenters in *England*, and we hope the House did not intend it as such.

I cannot imagine that so great a Spirit of Enmity and Contempt can be entertain'd in the Breast of a Nation against their Neighbours, their Brethren, People Born in the same Climate, submitting to the same Government, professing the same God, and in most Fundamental Points of Religion agreeing, People link'd together in the same common Interest, by intermarriages continually mixt in Relation, concern'd in the same Trade, making War with the same Enemies, and Allied with the same Friends; were it not that these People call'd Dissenters, are represented to them under some strange and untrue Character, or that under the Name of Dissenter, some ill Persons are shrowded and disguis'd, who deserve to be thus Treated.

Wherefore, in order to set the Dissenters Right in the Eyes of their Brethren, and that they may have common Justice at least, if they can have nothing of Courtesie, that Peace may be where there is no Occasion for War, and Quietness, and good Manners preserved, 'twill be needful to set the Matter in a true Light, and examine who this Dissenter is, what the People Dissenters are, and what they have done, for which they are Treated after

so

ſo infamous a Manner by Scurrilous Preachers, and Scandalous Pamphleteers, and other ignorant People, not a few.

The Diſſenter is an *Engliſhman*, that being ſomething deſirous of going to Heaven, having heard his Church of *England* Father, and School-maſter, and the Miniſter of the Pariſh, talk much of it, begins ſeriouſly to enquire about the Way thither, and to that Purpoſe conſulting his Bible and his Conſcience, he finds that in his Opinion there are ſome Things in the Eſtabliſh'd Way of Worſhip, which do not ſeem to correſpond with the Rule he has found out in the Scripture.

Now I ſhall not examine here whether the Man thus ſcrupulous be in the Right, or whether the Church be in the Right, it does not at all belong to the Caſe in Hand.

But the Man being fully convinc'd that he ought to Worſhip God in that Way, excluſive of all others, which is moſt agreeable to the Will of God reveal'd in the Scripture; and being on mature Conſideration alſo, and after ſincere Endeavours to be otherwiſe ſatisfied, fully convinc'd that this Eſtabliſh'd Way is not ſo near to that Rule as it ought to be, ventures the Diſpleaſure of the Civil Magiſtrate in Diſſenting, in pure Obedience to the Commands of his Conſcience, and of that Rule which bids him obey God rather than Man; firmly believing that 'tis his Duty ſo to do; and that the Compaſs and Extent of Humane Laws do not reach to bind him in Matters of Conſcience; at the ſame time living in Charity with all the reſt of the World, whoſe Conſciences do not require the ſame Reſtriction, and Peaceably ſubmitting to the Laws and Government he lives under, as far as either his Right, as an *Engliſhman*, or his Duty, as a Chriſtian, can require.

This is the *Engliſh* Proteſtant Diſſenter which I have been ſpeaking of, and concerning whom I have ventur'd to ſay, ſo many Men, *ſo much Wiſer than I*, are Miſtaken.

If there are crept into his Company State Diſſenters, Politick Diſſenters, or any that give no Reaſon or other, or leſs Reaſons, for their Diſſenting than theſe, they are not of them, and we wiſh they would go out from them.

I see no Act of Parliament a making to the Prejudice of this Dissenter; and let Hot Men Preach, Print, and say what they please, it is impossible it shou'd ever enter into the Breast of an *English* Protestant Parliament, or an *English* Protestant Queen, either to Oppress or Suppress such a Dissenter.

'Tis for the Protection of this Honest, Well-meaning Dissenter, that in the late Reign the King and Parliament finding their Number Great, thought it was Meet for the Quiet of the Nation, and as an Acknowledgement of the Superiority of Conscience to all Humane Laws, to Settle their Liberty in an Act of Parliament; the same undisputed Authority on which all our Civil, as well as Religious Rights are Established.

This is the Dissenter to which Her Majesty has promised Her Protection, and this Act of Parliament is the Toleration to Tender Consciences, for which Her Majesty openly declar'd Her Self, even to the Hazard of Her Royal Person.

These are the Dissenters who never gave Her Majesty any Reason to believe they did not Merit Her Protection, and I firmly believe never will.

From these the Church of *England* has nothing to fear, unless their Exemplary Lives, and Unquestion'd Piety, shou'd prevail to weaken Her Numbers, and we heartily wish all the Strife were reduc'd to this, *viz.* who shou'd Live best, and who shou'd Preach best.

If there are among them Vicious Youths, or Grown Hypocrites; if there are crept in Errors, Heresies and Enthusiasts; are not the same among the Church? If there are among these Dissenters, *Quakers*, *Antinomians*, *Sweet-Singers*, *Muggletonians*, and the like; the Church has also Her *Socinians*, *Deists*, *Anti-Trinitarians*, *Scepticks*, *Asgilites*, and the like; there can be no Advantage pleaded against Heresie, and Damnable Heterodox Opinions, from one side more than another.

If

If we regard the Matters of State, the Diſſenters, and the Church of *England*, have ſmall Advantage of the Argument one againſt another; and I may without Arrogance Challenge the Hot Church-Men, who can Treat them with nothing but the Odious Name of Diſturbers of the Peace, Enemies of Monarchy, and Authors of Confuſion, to bring the Loyalty of the Church of *England*, ſo much boaſted of in the World, to the Teſt, with the Loyalty of the Diſſenter; and it has lately been done to my Hand, it is eaſie to prove that the Diſſenter has been equally Loyal to Princes, equally True to the Government and Conſtitution of *England*, as the Church; and the Church has been equally Diſloyal, and has as often Reſiſted, and took Arms againſt the Lawful Eſtabliſh'd Power and Prince, as the Diſſenter; and let them enter into this Diſpute whenever they pleaſe.

New Teſt of the Church of England's Loyalty, P.

But what is all this to the preſent Caſe? What we do as *Engliſhmen* is one thing, and what we do as Chriſtians, and Diſſenters, is another.

'Tis alſo Foreign to our Purpoſe to Examine or Reply to Dr. *Stubbs*, or the Multitude of Pamphleteers, who place themſelves at the forelorn Hope of the Church, and begin the War in hopes of drawing on that whole Body to an Engagement; when they can make it out, that the Diſſenter and the Church are as far aſunder in Religion as God and *Baal*, I may poſſibly think they Merit what they ſo much Covet, *viz.* to be Reply'd to.

Whole Reams of Paper are ſpoil'd ſince that to prove that this Act of Parliament is needful, becauſe 'tis fit the Church ſhould be Eſtabliſh'd; to which I Anſwer with a Queſtion ask'd once with much leſs Reaſon in another Caſe, *What need all this Waſte?*

Gentlemen, Eſtabliſh your Church with all the Precaution you can, Build a Fence of Impregnable Laws about it, you are welcome; we never did, nor we do not now, Diſturb you; leave but us, your Poor Brethren, Liberty to ſerve God according to our Conſciences; don't bind

us

us to do as you can do, whether we can or no; take your Places, and Penſions, and Profits, and deſerve them of the Nation, if you can; we ask nothing but our Right, and what is now become ſo by Law; if you claim the Civil Power as your own, you conſequently take us into your Protection; and let us ſee how Generous you'll be.

As to thoſe among us who can conform to your Church for a Place, for a Salary, you are alſo Welcome to take them among you, and let them be a part of your ſelves; all the Converts you can make by the Mammon of Unrighteouſneſs are your own; all you can Buy off, or Bribe off, or Fright off, *let 'em go*; we readily Grant that whoever among us can, with Satisfaction to his Conſcience Conform, ought to Conform; and we heartily Wiſh you would make ſome ſmall Steps by way of Condeſcention to your Brethren, ſuch as might open your Door for us all to Conform to you, and then you ſhou'd Diſſent from Principles of Obſtinacy and Ill-Nature, or from a meer Neceſſity of Conſcience; you ſhould then ſee whether the Diſſenters in *England* were Schiſmaticks by Nature, and Hetrodox by Inclination; or whether their Objections are grounded upon Scripture, and their Diſſenting from you an Act of an enlightned Conſcience; you wou'd then try the Spirits whether they be of God.

But ſince you are of the Opinion that you are capable of no Amendment, that you cannot Reform farther, and therefore will not Condeſcend one Step, tho' 'twould bring over Half a Million of Souls to you, *an Eminent Inſtance of the Charity of your Church*, all we have to ſay in the Caſe is, let us have the Protection of the Government, and the Liberty the Laws allow us, and we are Content.

Upon this Score 'tis that we ſay the Act againſt Occaſional Conformity does not concern us; they who can Conform for one Reaſon, may conform without Two, and ought to Conform; and we are therefore content to be diſtinguiſh'd who cannot Conform at all; and if we might offer ſo boldly to you, who have any Intereſt in the *Houſe of Commons*, we would humbly propoſe to have the Title

of

of the Act alter'd, and to have it Entituled, *An Act for the better Uniting the Proteſtant Diſſenters, by preventing Occaſional Conformity to the Church of* England; and when that is done, let it paſs with all our Hearts; and tho' we can eaſily ſee what the Deſign is, *viz.* That no Diſſenter ſhall be employ'd in Place of Truſt or Profit in the Government, yet ſince it muſt be ſo, *We hope, Gentlemen, you will be content to take all the Miſcarriages of the Government on you too*; we ſhall acquieſce, let us alone in our Religion, let us Worſhip God as we believe he has directed us, and all the reſt is your own.

But before we part, let us have leave to remind you, that although you are willing to quit all our Civil Right to the Honours, as well as the Advantages, of ſerving our Country, when we are choſen to it by a Fair Majority, rather than not enjoy our Religion, and the Profeſſion we make, with Peace and Liberty, yet it is no leſs an Oppreſſion upon us, and the Hardſhips are ſuch as can never be defended by Reaſon or Equity.

We would be glad we had no Cauſe to think our ſelves Injur'd; and to ſuch of the Church of *England* who can judge without Prejudice, we would Appeal whether it is not very Hard?

Firſt, That the Diſſenter ſhall be excluded from all Places of Profit, Truſt and Honour, and at the ſame time ſhall not be excuſed from thoſe which are attended with Charge, Trouble, and Loſs of his Time?

Secondly, That a Diſſenter ſhall be Preſs'd as a Sailor to Fight at Sea, Liſted as a Soldier to Fight on Shore, and let his Merit be never ſo much above his Fellows, ſhall never be capable of Preferment; no, not a Lieutenant at Sea, or ſo much as a Halbert in the Army.

Thirdly, That we muſt maintain our own Clergy, and your Clergy; our own Poor, and your Poor; pay equal Taxes, and equal Duties; and not be thought worthy to be Truſted to ſet a Drunkard in the Stocks.

We Wonder, Gentlemen, you will accept our Money on your Deficient Funds, our Stocks to help carry on your Wars, our Loans and Credits to your Victualling Office, and Navy Office.

If

If you would go on to distinguish us, get a Law made we shall Buy no Lands, that we may not be Freeholders; and see if you could find Money to Buy us out.

Transplant us into Towns and Bodies, and let us Trade by our selves; let us Card, Spin, Knit, and Work, with and for one another, and see how you will maintain your own Poor without us.

Let us Fraight our Ships apart, keep our Money out of your Bank, accept none of our Bills, and separate your selves as absolutely from us in Civil Matters, as we do from you in Religious, and see how you can go on without us.

If you are not willing to do this, but we must live among you, Trade, Work, Receive and Pay together, why may we not do it in Peace, with Love and Unity, without daily Reproach? If we have any Knaves among us, take them, if we have any Hypocrites, any who can Conform, and do not, we are free to part with them, that the Remainder may be all such as agree with the Character here given; and when you have Garbl'd us to your Hearts desire, and ours, you need never fear your Church, as to her Politick Interest in the World; Pray then let us be quiet.

What have we to do with your Distinctions of Whig and Tory? No farther that I know of than this, that when, distinct from our Religious Concerns, we come to talk of our Liberties, Properties, and *English* Priviledges, we are not for having them destroy'd by Absolute Authority, Dispensing Power, and the like; and if this be to be Whigs, ye are Whigs.

As to Kings and Rulers, we are of the Opinion that when they Degenerate into Tyrants, Oppress their People, Destroy the Laws, with all the *etcætera*'s of Arbitrary Power, 'tis Lawful for the Injur'd People to Reduce them to Reason, and to seek Protection, and Powerful Help, from any Body, to Assist them to Recover their Undoubted Rights and Liberties; if this be to be Traitors, why then, Gentlemen of the Church of *England*, hold up your Hands; how say you? Are you Guilty, or not Guilty?

As

As to Oaths, *with which, Gentlemen, ye were the Men that loaded your Allegiance farther than you had any Occasion*, we are of the Opinion, that they can bind the Subject no longer than the Soveraign continues the Protection of the Executive Power; and that the late King by his Deserting the Throne, Absolv'd all his Subjects from the Bond of their Allegiance; and on this Foot we made no Scruple to Swear to the Government, as it now stands on the Foot of the late Revolution; and if you have Sworn with us, and yet do not believe so, you may get off of the Perjury if you can.

And what need is there now of running down the Dissenters with a full Cry, as if this Act a coming out was a Machine, to blow them all up; we see no Harm in it at all, other than the Hardships we mention'd before, most of which we suffer'd before, and are like only to have them the faster entail'd on our Posterity.

All those Gentlemen therefore who think this Act will weaken the Dissenters, or wish it would, are manifestly Mistaken; it may distinguish them better, and I am perswaded will fortifie them in their Honest Profession; 'twill teach them, that if they will hold fast the Truth, they must learn to live like People under the Power of those who hate them, and despitefully use them.

The Dissenters too are strangely Mistaken in their Apprehensions of the Ill Consequences of this Act.

To such I wou'd say, I cannot imagine what they have to fear from it, or why they shou'd be uneasie with the Honour they are also rid of, the Encumbrance of being Mayors, Aldermen, Jurats, and Sheriffs of the Towns and Corporations; and let them but reflect what was the Gain that all the Dissenters in *England* have made by Places and Pensions from the Government since the late Revolution, I am perswaded 'twill not all amount to the Sum that one Churchman will be found to have Cheated the Nation of.

The Church are willing to engross all the Knaves to themselves, and let them do it, and welcome, tho' they get all the Money into the Bargain; if they would but come to a

fair Account with us now, and repay all the Diſſenters Money the Nation has been cheated of by Church Knaves, I dare undertake the Diſſenters ſhall repay all that can be charg'd on their Knaves out of the Ballance.

The Foundation of the Diſſenters Safety is lodg'd by God's Eſpecial Providence, in the Queen's Veracity; while Her Majeſty eſteems Her Word Sacred, as She has aſſur'd us She will, we have no Occaſion to be concern'd at all.

The Safety of the Diſſenters conſiſt in their own Honeſty and Integrity; while they do nothing to offend either Her Majeſty, or the Laws, if it were poſſible to have a Parliament of Church Bigots, or of Pulpit *Sachaverells*, there will be no Fear of their Liberty.

As to the preſent Act, *I* doubt not but they will live to ſee Cauſe to be thankful for the making it, when the Miſcarriages of all People in Publick Offices and Employments are ſo eminently fix'd upon a Party, and ſo openly and fairly taken off from them.

They are Miſtaken too in the Senſe of the Preſent Parliament; and they may be aſſur'd, had not their Enemies ſeen that an *Engliſh* Proteſtant Parliament, as this is, is not to be prevail'd upon to Overthrow ſo Subſtantial a Part of the Nation's Liberty as is ſetled in the Act of Toleration, they had not reſted ſo long, but before now had attempted it.

They have try'd it in the Pulpit, ſcatter'd it in Scandalous Pamphlets from the Preſs, affirmed that Toleration is Deſtructive of the Churches, as well as the Nation's Safety; they have endeavour'd, by Calumny and Reproach, to blacken the Diſſenters with Crimes never committed; and which they wou'd never own before, are at laſt come to repreſent them as a formidable Party.

And yet all this cou'd never bring ſo much as One Member of the Houſe to be ſo blind to his Countries Intereſt, as to make a Motion againſt the Act of Toleration.

Being thus diſappointed, and willing to play at ſmall Game rather than ſtand out, they fly to the Sanctuary of this Bill, and feign themſelves gratify'd by it more than ever the Bill, or the Houſe it ſelf, intended; for in all their

their Arguments for the Bill, 'tis ſuppos'd to be a Means to reduce, humble, and mortifie the Diſſenters; *Ridiculus Mus!* Is this all? Why really, Gentlemen, had it been in our Power, you ſhould have had all this without an Act of Parliament; this will Strengthen, not Reduce, us; 'twill pleaſe, not Mortifie or Humble us; and thus you find your ſelvsall Miſtaken, Miſtaken in the Houſe of Commons themſelves in thinking the Repreſentatives of a Proteſtant Nation will Repeal the Act of Toleration, upon which the Tranquility of their Native Country ſo much depends, but above all Miſtaken in their Expectation of the Queen, to whom their Behaviour is Prepoſterous and Unmannerly.

'Twas prepoſterous for People to expect, that becauſe the Queen was a Friend to the Church, a conſtant Member, and always Eſpouſed the Intereſt of the Church, that therefore when She came to the Crown, She muſt come up to all their extravagant Heights.

When Her Majeſty was Princeſs, and a Subject, ſhe conſtantly adher'd to the Intereſt of the Church; but at the ſame time declar'd Her Opinion for tolerating the Diſſenters in their Liberty of Proteſtant Worſhip, while they behaved themſelves quietly and obediently under the Government.

When her Majeſty came to the Crown, She became the general Mother, the Guardian, the Refuge of all Her Subjects; She places the Church firſt in Her Favour, promiſes them Her ſpecial and particular care, as thoſe who by Judgment and Inclination She ſtands engaged with; but as She finds a great Number of Her People unhappily divided in Opinion, yet in all other Reſpects Her good Subjects, what can She do leſs than give them Her Protection? This She has readily promis'd them, and on this they thankfully depend.

But here comes the Gentlemen of the Long Gown, and they tell her in ſo many Words, She cannot, She muſt not keep her Word with us; They tell us She will halt between God and *Baal*, if She does not ſo Declare for the Church, as to her Beſt to Suppreſs and deſtroy all Separate Worſhips, and have all the Prieſts of *Baal*, the beſt

Terms they can beſtow on the Diſſenting Miniſters, hew'd to Pieces before the Lord.

'Tis Unmannerly that the Church of *England*-men ſhou'd expect the Queen to break Her word with ſome of Her Subjects to oblige others; and that whereas She has promis'd them Her Special Favour, they ſhou'd not be content with that, unleſs She will at the ſame time Oppreſs Two Millions of her Faithful People to oblige them.

Let them go on, but let them be aſſur'd the Diſſenters ſhall enjoy their Liberty of Conſcience, till they can prevail with Her Majeſty to lay aſide her Veracity, and forget Her Royal Word, and refuſe us Her Protection, which we are reſolved never to give Her any Reaſon for.

As to the Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity, it baulks their Deſign on the Diſſenters, for 'tis for their Advantage; they always diſlik'd the Practice; it has more than once been Proteſted againſt, and Exploded; and I dare undertake not one Diſſenter offers to preſent a Petition to the Houſe againſt its paſſing.

'Tis plain, that Occaſional Communion is contrary to the very Nature and Being of a Diſſenter; who, if he can Conform, ought to Conform; and if he can for a Place of Preferment, ought to do it without that Preferment.

'Tis plain, that whatever, by the Connivance of Remiſs Miniſters, and with too much Regard to Parties, may have been ſlightly paſs'd over, yet by the very Conſtitution and Foundation of a collected, ſeparate Church or Congregation, no Man can go back to the Communion of the Church of *England*, and be received again upon any other Condition but as a Penitent; 'tis an Act Deſtructive of all poſſible Pretence for Diſſenting, and never was, nor never can, be defended by any Diſſenter, without over-throwing all the Reaſons they cou'd ever give for Diſſenting.

How then can this Bill be aim'd at the Diſſenters? either they who think 'tis aim'd at them, are Miſtaken; or they that point it at them, are Miſtaken, for Suppreſſing an Error crept in among them, contrary to their Conſtitution, againſt their Judgment, declared by them to

be

be a Grievance, can never be their Injury, nor ought to be their Trouble.

Let them Name us the Diſſenter that ever vindicated this Practice, one paſſionate Author excepted; let them tell us the Time when any Congregation received ſuch conforming Nonconformatiſts without diſſatisfaction and Diſcontents; let them tell us a Time whenever the thing was practis'd till the Reign of King *James*.

'Tis a Novelty, an Abuſe crept in among us, and we are glad to have it Condemn'd by Authority; at the ſame Time not at all thinking our ſelves oblig'd to the Authors for their Good Will.

'Twill be objected, this is a Feint, to cloſe with a thing when you cannot help it.

No, Gentlemen, we don't tell you we like that part of the Bill which Excludes us from the Native Honours and Preferments of our Country, which are our Due, our Birthright, equally with our Neighbours, and to which we ſhould be call'd by the Suffrage of the People; and we cannot but think it a Hardſhip beyond the Power of Reaſon to juſtifie; but ſince this Right muſt be clogg'd with ſo many Inconveniences, thatwe muſt Mortgage our Conſciences to enjoy them, no Man can have any Charity left for us, but muſt preſently conclude we ſhall freely forego ſuch Trifles for our Conſciences, or elſe that we may have no Conſciences at all.

Therefore *'tis no Feint*; we are ſo content with the Suppreſſing the Grievance of this Scandalous *Ambo-dexter Conformity*, that we think the Hardſhips put upon us with it not worth naming; we doubt not the Parliament will one time or other ſee Cauſe to do us Juſtice, and to reſtore to us the Privileges of our Anceſtors, and which we have done nothing to forfeit.

But all the Parliaments that ever were, or will be, can never Suppreſs any thing among us ſo Scandalous, to our Reputation, and to that Candour with which we deſire to Guide our Actions, nor ſo contrary to, and Deſtructive of, the very Nature of our ſeparating from the Church of *England*, and the Conſtitution of all our Collected Congregations.

We acknowledge, that if this was an allow'd Practice among us, we cou'd not pretend the Character of a Diſſenter I have here given to be Juſt; but without Queſtion it is a moſt Juſt Character of all thoſe Diſſenters who are Conſciencious and Honeſt; 'tis the Original, the Nature of a Diſſenter; what is crept in more, is a Corruption, and we wiſh it Extinguiſhed; and ſince none has ſaid any thing of this Nature, but what has been ſaid before, and no Church of *England*-Man can think or ſpeak worſe of it than the truly Religious Diſſenters have done, we freely diſmiſs all thoſe who can thus Build with one Hand, and Pull down with another, to a Liberty of declaring for the future who they are for.

Only purſuant to what has all along been acknowledg'd, ſo far as we handl'd this Argument, if they wou'd accept of the Friendly Advice of their Brethren, it ſhou'd be, that they wou'd for the future Conform to the Church of *England*.

For 'tis plain, he that can Conform to the Church to qualifie himſelf for Preferment, for Employment, or any ſuch Reaſon, can Conform; if not, he muſt be arrived to a Degree of Maſterſhip over his Conſcience, ſo as to ſubject it to his Intereſt, and act againſt light; and he that can do that, may do any thing, and 'tis no matter what Church he Communicates with; of ſuch a Man I think I Treſpaſs not upon Charity to ſay, he has all his Work of Religion to do over again, and he alſo may Conform till God ſhall give his Conſcience Light enough to chuſe by, and him Grace to be Obedient to the Convictions of his own Heart, and whether that be to Conform or Diſſent, let him judge.

But if any Man who has profeſt himſelf a Religious Diſſenter, ſhall, upon the paſſing this Act, declare himſelf Reſolv'd to turn to the Diſſenters, I think no Congregation of Diſſenters, according to the Nature of Religious Communion, can receive him upon any other Terms than as a *Penitent*.

If he has not Sin'd, why ſhou'd he Repent? Says a Learned Author in this very Caſe.

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I answer, he either has Sinn'd in Conforming, or he Sinn'd in Dissenting before, or he Sins in coming off; for if he did not Sin in Conforming, he ought to have continued there, and his coming off is a plain Schism; but if he did Sin, he ought to acknowledge the Sin, which is what I mean by being receiv'd as a Penitent.

I am told after all this, but upon what Authority do you write thus? You take upon you to write in the Name of the Dissenters, what Commission have you to write in the Plural? And how do we know that the Dissenters disown this Occasional Communion.

I answer, Publication is an Appeal to the World; if I have wrote what is not true, or affirm'd that in the Name of the Dissenters which is not their Opinion, I am liable to an easie Confutation; but as *I* have never yet had my Argument refuted, so tho' *I* have not received a Formal Commission, Truth is a General Commission, and any Man may write it.

And yet I am not without a general Concurrence of all the Dissenters *I* ever converst with: and he that can answer the Argument is welcome to make his Negative as Publick as this, and let the World judge who is in the Right.

A New Test of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty:

Or, Whiggish Loyalty and Church Loyalty Compar'd.

IN all the unhappy Contentions among Parties and Factions in this brangling Nation, the Champions of the Church of *England*, *as they wou'd have themselves call'd*, have laid it down as the distinguishing Mark of their Hierarchy, that it is her Practice, and

has been deriv'd from her very Constitution, as well as Doctrine, to fix in all her Members Principles of unshaken Loyalty to her Prince, entire and undisputed Obedience to all her Commands, and an Abhorrence of the very Thoughts of those Hellish Principles, *That it can be lawful on any Account whatsoever to resist the establish'd Power of their Kings.*

'Twou'd be endless to quote the Reverend Dr. *B——ge*, who from the Text in the 13*th.* of the *Romans.* v. 1,2. *Resist not the Powers*, &c. *for whatsoever Powers are, be ordained of God; whosever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God*; tells us, *That if the King shou'd by his Royal Command execute the greatest Violence upon either our Person or Estate, our Duty was to submit by Prayers and Tears first to God Almighty, to turn the Wrath of his Vicegerent from his Servant, and by humble Entreaty to beg his Majesties Grace and Pardon; but* to lift up the Hand against the Lord's Anointed, or resist the Evil of punishment he thought fit to inflict, *this were a Crime unpardonable either before God or Man, and a Crime, (says the Reverend Dr.) which we bless God the very Principles of our* Ever Loyal Mother, *the Church of* England, *abhors and detests.*

Let Incendiaries, Phanaticks, and Bloody Peace-breaking Whigs (says another Learned Divine) nourish the Vip'rous Principles of Treason and Rebellion, and let them meet their due Reward of their Factious Doings in the resentments of a Righteous, but Provok'd Nation: But God be praised, our Mother, the Church of England, *has always brought up her Sons in an unspotted Loyalty and Obedience; none have been found lifting up their Hands against their Soveraign, or possessing the Rights of the Anointed of God,* &c.

The very Being and Life, the Original and Principles of the Church of England, (*says another* 30th *of* January *Sermon*) *is Loyalty and Fidelity to God, as the Immediate Supream, and to the King as the lively Image of Divine Authority, whose Power is immediately deriv'd from, holds of, and is accountable to none but to God Himself.*

To avoid Prolixity of Quotation, the Reader is desired to accept of these as sufficient Proofs of what I lay down

upon

upon this Condition; *nevertheleſs*, that beſides the general Appeal which I make to the Memory of moſt Men, I oblige my ſelf upon Demand to produce Ten Thouſand fair Quotations of Non-reſiſtance of Princes, Paſſive-Obedience, and Divine Authority of the Kingly Power, is own'd and declar'd to be an Eſſential Part of the Profeſſion and Practice of the Church of *England*; and upon this Foot, which I hold to be ſufficient, I think I cannot be cenſured if I take it for Granted.

Now as this too much divided Nation has always been compos'd of two contending Parties, thoſe Parties have been diſtinguiſh'd, *as in like Caſes*, by Names of Contempt; and tho' they have often chang'd them on either ſide, as Cavalier and Roundhead, Royaliſts and Rebels, Malignants and Phanaticks, Tories and Whigs, yet the Diviſion has always been barely *the Church and the Diſſenter*, and there it continues to this Day.

As the Church of *England* Party have boaſted of their own Loyalty, ſo they have branded the Diſſenter with Rebellion and Faction, not only in their Nature, but in their very Principles; they have laid it down in their Writings and Sermons, and Multitudes of their ignorant Hearers belive it, that *the very Doctrine of the Diſſenter is made up of Principles in their own Nature tending to Confuſion and Rebellion*; they wo'n't be content that we ſhou'd own there may be Men among all Parties of bad Deſigns, and who wou'd on all Occaſions embroil their Native Country; but it muſt be woven with the very Articles of Faith; and that 'tis the Religion of a Diſſenter to diſturb Government, kill Kings, and oppoſe Laws.

The Phanatical Enemies of our King and Church, ſays the Learned Dr. *P——n*, *drink in Rebellion as Water*; *'tis the very Subſtance of their Schiſmatical Doctrine to overwhelm and deſtroy*; *and Commonwealths and Confuſions are the Doctrines they preach.*

He that lays out one Groat with a Diſſenter (ſays the worthy Sir *Roger* in one of his Famous *Obſervators*) contributes ſo much as the Profits of that Groat amounts to in Trade, towards the Subverſion of the Monarchy, and

and Erecting a Common-wealth, for the very Nature and Tendency of their Profeſſion is deſtructive of Kingly Power, and the Government of the Nation.

This has been the Opinion of the Church of *England*, both of themſelves on one Hand, and of the Diſſenters on the other Hand. I ſhou'd be glad if I cou'd only ſay, *It has been*, for we find 'tis ſtill too much their Opinion.

Let no Man ſay that the Author of theſe Sheets is either widening or keeping unheal'd the Breaches of this Nation; for if I can make it appear that there is really no Occaſion of ſuch unnatural Diviſions; and that neither the extraordinary Opinion of themſelves, nor the Contempt of their Neighbours, as to the matter of Loyalty, is a becoming Principle; no, nor a rational one neither: For that as to Loyalty, Paſſive-Obedience, Non-Reſiſtance, *&c.* there is really no great Difference between one ſide or other; I go as far towards healing the Breach as any Man; for there can be no better way to end the Strife on both Sides, than to prove that neither Side has any juſt Cauſe to contend.

To examine the Matter on both Sides, ſeem very uſeful at this time, in order to reconcile Parties, and to ſettle the Univerſal Character of the Nation.

The Government of *England*, is a limited Monarchy, compoſed of King, Lords, and Commons; each have their ſeveral, their ſeparate, and their conjunctive Powers; which acting in Concert, make the Harmony of the Conſtitution. I ſhall not invade the Province of thoſe learned Gentlemen, who have undertaken to ſet forth the Branches of the Conſtitution in all their Powers, Limitations and Prerogatives: 'Tis enough to ſay the Conſtitution is known, the Government is confin'd by Laws, the Crown limited by Statutes, and the Peoples Rights confirm'd by the Conceſſion of Ages.

To this Government, all Diſtinction of Names ſet apart, I am of the Opinion all Parties have in their Turns been equally Loyal; I was going to ſay, equally Diſloyal: And if I were to uſe the Language of late Times, it wou'd be a very proper way of ſpeaking.

Affirming

Affirming without demonſtrating is an abſurd way of arguing, and therefore it will be needful to come to Particulars, and to examine the ſeveral Acts and Deeds of both Parties when the Kingly Prerogative has ſhock'd or claſh'd with the People.

In order to this 'tis needful to examine the Date of the Difference, and ſo enter a little into Hiſtory.

Our firſt Reformation from Popery was in the Days of King *Edward* the VI. I call it the firſt, becauſe 'twas under him that the whole Nation and the Govenment embrac'd the Proteſtant Reform'd Religion; this Proteſtant Religion was eſtabliſh'd by *that Zealous King*, and by his Parliament back'd with the force of Laws, and confirm'd by all the Sanction of Authority it was capable of, and here it began to be call'd the Church of *England*.

Some enquiring Chriſtians were for making farther Steps, and carrying on the Reformation to a higher Degree; and if that good reforming King had liv'd, his Zeal and Integrity was ſuch, that there was no doubt he wou'd have gone on to perfect every thing he had begun, as new Light or more Knowledge had encreaſed; but the Return of Popery under Queen *Mary* put a Stop to the Work in general, and went very far towards overturning the whole Structure of the Reformation.

Queen *Elizabeth* reſtor'd it again; but as ſhe was a Zealous Proteſtant Queen, yet ſhe was not for ſubjecting the Reformation to any Amendment. Not that ſhe believ'd it perfect; but ſhe was a Politick Princeſs, ſurrounded with Enemies that were not to be dally'd with; and ſhe was loth to ſuppoſe ſuch Defects in the Reformation as were alledg'd, becauſe 'twas to leſſen the Reputation of it, and conſequently her Intereſt in the World.

Thoſe who inſiſted upon the further Reformation were then call'd *Puritans*, becauſe they ſet up for a greater Purity of Worſhip; and they ſeparated themſelves from the eſtabliſh'd Church, becauſe, as they ſaid, their Conſciences inform'd them they cou'd ſerve God more agreeable to his Will.

I ſhall not meddle with the Arguments made uſe of on both Sides, ether to defend or expoſe this Principle; 'tis ſufficient to acquaint my Reader that this is the true Original of the Diſſenters: We are now to examine a little further back. Before this Reformation there was no ſuch thing as Church of *England*, it was then the Church of *Rome* that was the eſtabliſh'd National Church.

The Proteſtants under the Titles of *Lollards*, *Wickliffians*, *Huſſites*, &c. what did they do? Did they, *as our Modern People ſay every Body ſhou'd*, conform to what the Government commanded? No, the preſent Church of *England* Party were the Diſſenters, the Schiſmaticks and Phanaticks, in the Days of King *Henry* VIII. were perſecuted for not coming to Church, many of them put to Death, and always treated with Scorn and Contempt, as Enemies to the Government, Broachers of new Opinions, and Contemners of Authority, as in the Caſe of that Famous Proto-Martyr of Chriſt's Church, *John Lambert*, and others.

In the next Ages theſe come to have the Power in their Hands, and forgetting that they had found it *Righteous in the Sight of God to obey God rather than Man*, they treat thoſe whoſe Conſciences oblige them to diſſent from them, with the ſame Contempt which themſelves had receiv'd from the *Roman* Government.

Thus far they are upon even Terms, as to Obedience to their Superiors.

The Diſſenters have the firſt Occaſion after this to ſhow their Submiſſion under extraordinary Preſſures. Queen *Elizabeth* diſcountenanc'd them continually, and as good a Queen as ſhe was, put ſome of them to Death. King *James* I. hunted them quite out of the Kingdom, made Thouſands of them fly into *Holland* and *Germany*, and at laſt to *New-England*.

During the long Reign of theſe Two Princes we find no charge of Treaſon or Rebellion upon them; they bore the Diſpleaſure of their Princes with Patience and Paſſive Obedience, *if I may be allow'd that Ridiculous Phraſe*; being perſecuted in one City, they fled to another; they bore illegal

gal Proſecutions, and things contrary to their Right, as *Engliſh* Men, but never took up Arms againſt their Prince.

Under the Reign of King *Charles* I. the Caſe alter'd, the King and Parliament fell out about Matters of Civil Right, and Invaſion of the Liberty and Properties of the People, the *Puritans* or Diſſenters, call them what we pleaſe, fell in unanimouſly with the Parliament.

And here 'tis worthy Remark, that the firſt Difference between the King and the *Engliſh* Parliament did not Reſpect Religion but Civil Property; nor were the Majority of the Houſe *Puritans*, but true Church Proteſtants, and *Engliſh* Men, who ſtood upon the Rights of the People, as *Engliſh* Men; and none were more Zealous in the firſt Diſputes than the Lord *Digby*, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, and ſuch as were afterwards deep Sufferers for the King.

But the Parliament finding the *Puritan* Party ſtuck cloſe to their Cauſe, they alſo came over them when Things came to a Rupture, and ſo the War begun on the Score of Right, Invaſion of Liberty, Breach of the Laws, Private Leagues, and Male-Adminiſtration, a Game we have ſeen play'd over again by the very ſame Church of *England* that have exclaim'd ſo much againſt it, ſo damn'd it, and ſo damn'd themſelves, by Oaths, Declarations, Teſts, and God knows what againſt it.

'Tis allow'd here the Puritan broke thro' his Loyalty, and his former Obedience, and fought his Way to the Liberty he demanded. Well, the War ended to his Advantage, he ſubdued his Soveraign, and brought him to the Block, to the Aſtoniſhment of the whole World.

I won't diſpute here which or which Party did or did not do it; but to give the Enemy all juſt Advantage, I am willing to grant it in the largeſt Senſe, that the Diſſenters, Phanaticks, or Whigs, call them as you pleaſe, did embrue their Hands in the Blood of the Lord's Annointed, put to Death that Bleſſed Martyr, King *Charles* the I. whom the Learned Divine, in a Sermon on the 30th of *January*, before the Parliament, compares both in the manner of his Sufferings, and the People by whom, to our Saviour and

and the Jews, and boldly runs on in the Blaſpemous Parallel, to ſhew that the Indignities and Sufferings of King *Charles* exceed thoſe of Jeſus Chriſt.

I think I have granted as largely as a fair Adverſary can deſire, for I have yielded, for Peace-ſake, to ſeveral Things which I cou'd fairly diſprove.

Nor ſhall I return to a Repetition of the ill Uſage the Diſſenters have receiv'd from the contrary Party on this Account for above 30 Years; the conſtant Reproaches they and their Children after them have met with from thoſe Gentlemen, who on all Occaſions have (as I hinted before) particularly taken care to extol their own unſhaken Fidelity to their Prince, till at laſt an Occaſion preſents to touch them in the ſame moſt ſenſible Part, *their Right and Property*; and, *alas*! Their Loyalty, what became of it? Truly the *Faithful*, *Paſſively Obedient*, *Unſhakenly Loyal*, Church, return'd to the Original Nature of their Neighbours, and did the ſame thing exactly which the Whigs, *the Factious Rebellious Whigs*, had done before.

No, that's falſe, (ſays a Diſciple of Dr. *Sherlock*'s) *we did not Kill our King, we did not dip our Hands in Royal Blood, nor hurt the Lords Annointed.*

No, that's true, but the Lords Annointed may thank himſelf for that; for my part I think the Difference only lyes here, the Whigs in 41, to 48, took up Arms againſt their King, and having Conquer'd him, and taken him Priſoner, and having taken him Priſoner, cut off his Head, *becauſe they had begun*: The Church of *England* took up Arms againſt their King in 88, and did not cut off his Head, *becauſe they had him not*. King *Charles* loſt his Life, *becauſe he did not run away*; and his Son, King *James*, ſaved his Life, *becauſe he did run away*.

'Tis ſuch a Jeſt, ſuch a Banter to ſay, We did take up Arms, but we did not kill him: *Bleſs us, Kill our King, we wou'd not have hurt a Hair of his Head*! Why, every Bullet ſhot at the Battel of the *Boyne* was a killing the King; for if you did not, 'twas becauſe you cou'd not hit him.

If

If a Highway-man Fires at you upon the Road, when he is taken, and brought upon his Trial, our Learned Recorder, before he pronounces Sentence of Death, Harangues him in this manner: *And beſides all this, Sir, you are plainly guilty of Murther; for you not only aſſaulted this Honeſt Man in order to take away his Money, but you endeavoured to Murther him; for you ſhot at him, in order to kill him; and the Intention of Murther is equally Criminal in the Eyes of God with the Act it ſelf.*

Now who did we ſhoot at, at the *Boyne*? *'Tis true King* James *generally ſtood out of the way*: But who did we Shoot at? What! Was our Orders to *fight againſt both ſmall and great, and not againſt the King of* Iſrael? Had your Bullets Commiſſion to ſhew their Loyalty, and not to touch the Lords Anointed? If he had charg'd in the firſt Squadrons of his Horſe, had you not kill'd him if you cou'd? I think this needs no further Proof.

Nay, if Arguments may be allow'd to have equal Weight on both ſides, the Whigs have been the honeſter of the two, for they never profeſt any ſuch blind, abſolute and undiſputed Obedience to Princes, as the others have done.

It has always been their Opinion, That Government was Originally contrived by the Conſent, and for the mutual Benefit of the Parties Govern'd, that the People have an Original Native Right to their Property, the Liberty of their Perſons and Poſſeſſions, *unleſs fore-faulted to the Laws*; that they cannot be diveſted of their Right but by their own Conſent; and that all Invaſion of this Right is deſtructive of the Conſtitution, and diſſolves the Compact of Government and Obedience.

They have always declar'd, That they underſtand their Allegiance to their Governors to be, *ſuppoſing they Govern them according to the Laws of the Land*; and that if Princes break this Bond of Government, the Nature of it is inverted, and the Conſtitution ceaſes of courſe.

Buchanan in *Scotland*, *Algernoon Sidney* in *England*, have ſet their Names, and the latter his Blood, to this Doctrine, and the Author of the *True-born Engliſhman* is worth quoting in this Caſe.

The

The Government's ungirt when Justice dies,
And Constitutions are Non-Entities:
The Nations all a Mob, there's no such thing
As Lords or Commons, Parliament or King:
A great promiscuous Crowd the Hydra *lyes,*
Till Laws revive, and mutual Contract ties:
A Chaos *free to chuse for their own Share,*
What Case of Government they please to wear.
If to a King they do the Reins commit,
All Men are bound in Conscience to submit;
But then that King must by his Oath assent
To Postulata's *of the Government;*
Which if he breaks, he cuts off the Entail,
And Power retreats to its Original.

True-Born Englishman, *P.* 74.

This has been the avow'd Doctrine of the Dissenters, and indeed is the true Sense of the Constitution it self; pursuant to this Doctrine, they thought they had a Right to oppose Violence with Force; believing that when Kings break Coronation Oaths, the Solemn Compact with their People, and encroach upon their Civil Rights, contrary to the Laws of the Land, by which they are Sworn to Rule, they cease to be the Lord's anointed any longer; the Sanction of their Office is vanish'd, and they become Tyrants and Enemies of Mankind, and may be treated accordingly.

Now 'tis no wonder to find People of these Principles vigorously withstanding their Governours, when they tread upon the tender sore Places of the Constitution, 'tis nothing but what they all along pretended to, and declar'd to be their Opinion.

But to find the Church of *England*-Men, whose Loyalty has been the Subject of a thousand Learned Authors, and numberless Sermons, whose Character and Mark of Distinction has been chosen more for her steady Adherence and Fidelity to her Prince than to God Almighty, whose Obedience to her Monarch has been declar'd to be

Inviolate

Inviolate and immoveable, and who pretends to be Famous through the whole World for her Faithfulneſs to Kings, *for her*, as ſoon as ever the King did but, as it were, ſeem to aim at cruſhing her Authority, as ſoon as he did but begin to call her Clergy to an Account, and clap her *Golden Candleſticks* for Diſobedience, *for her* to winch and kick, fly to Foreign Princes for Protection, and riſe in Arms again her Prince, O *Pelling!* O *Brady*; O *Sherlock!* O *Hominem!* O *Mores!*

Where's the Worthy Dr. *B———ge*'s Loyalty now, his Immovable Loyalty? That after all his Abſolute Submiſſion, is ſo far from being a Martyr to his own Doctrine, that he could not loſe a ſmall Benefice for it?

Where is the famous Dr. *S———k*? Who having ſtood out long in his old Antiquated Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, and confirm'd the Faith of his Suff'ring Brethren by ſtrong and wonderful Arguments, at laſt, at the powerful Inſtigation of a Wife, and a good Salary, *has Sold all his Loyalty for a Meſs of Pottage*, ſolving his Honeſty with the wretched Diſtinction of a Power *De Facto* and a Power *De Jure*; as if the Church of *England*'s Credit cou'd be ſav'd by ſuch an impotent Shift, or as if he cou'd make Amends to the Prebendary for his helping him to Sacrifice his Brethren, to Father his Converſion on reading honeſt Dr. *Overall*, whoſe Doctrine, 'tis well known, the Doctor knew before; but that he was loth Dr. *South* ſhou'd have the Honour of bringing him over to ſuch Old Phanatick Principles.

Behold the Loyalty of the Church of *England*; now let's examine their Conſcience, as to taking Oaths; and if I do not bring them to be all Whigs, and *Forty-One-Men*, or elſe prove them all Perjur'd, then I do nothing.

The Clergy, all the Magiſtrates and Officers of the Houſhold, of the Civil or Military Government, were Members of the Church of *England*, otherwiſe they cou'd not be employ'd; the Sacramental Teſt has done the Diſſenters this Kindneſs, that 'tis plain all the Managing Hands in the Kingdom were Diſciples of the Church; and as an additional Circumſtance, the Oath of Allegiance

which they took, and which was (God be praiſed) of their own making, bound them to that ſame Abſolute Blind Obedience which they profeſt, and confin'd it to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors.

If this Oath be conſider'd literally, I am content to be ſilenc'd when one fair Argument can be brought to evade it; the Declaration follow'd it, wherein they deteſt and abhor that deviliſh Doctrine, that 'tis lawful *on any Pretence whatſoever, (Mark the Emphaſis)* to take up Arms againſt the King; this *(equal to an Oath)* declar'd in the Preſence of God, and the Particulars being material to our Purpoſe are as follows:

I A. B. *do Declare and Believe that it is not Lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever to take up Arms againſt the King, and that I do abhor that Traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him.*

So help me God.

Notwithſtanding this, you have taken up Arms againſt, depoſed, and as far as you were able, put to Death your lawful King, the very King you ſwore Allegiance to.

Now *pray, Gentlemen, give Commiſſion to ſome worthy Champion of your Church's Loyalty to bring you fairly off of your Oath and Declaration if you can*; and till you do, be not angry with us for making one of theſe Concluſions from the Premiſes, and you ſhall chuſe for your ſelves.

Firſt, That this Doctrine of Abſolute, Paſſive and Non-reſiſtant Obedience, is an Abſurdity in it ſelf, contradictory to the Nature of Government and Allegiance, and politically introduc'd by State Engines into the Church of *England*, to abuſe her, and betray her Members into unforeſeen Miſchiefs and Inconveniences.

Or, *Secondly*, That the Members of the Church of *England* are all Apoſtates from the very Fundamental Doctrine of their Church, Perjur'd in the Sight of God and Man, Notorious Hypocrites, and Deceivers; who having ſworn Obedience without Reſerve to their Prince, are become Traitors, Rebels, and Murtherers of the Lord's Anoint-

ed,

ed, and their Lawful Soveraign; and not having the Fear of God before their Eyes, have depos'd and traiterously dethron'd their Rightful King, God Almightys Vicegerent, accountable to no Earthly Power, Supream under God, Absolute, and, from Divine Institution, Undoubted Sole Lord of them and their Country.

Or, *Lastly*, That they only are the true Church of *England*, who according to their avow'd Profession, have firmly adher'd to their King in all his Sufferings and Solitude, have never blacken'd their Consciences, nor gone back from their Obedience, forgotten their Oaths, nor sullied their Reputation with the horrid Crimes of Treason and Rebellion, as they think it to be.

Now, as a fair Disputant, I am willing the Respondent shall chuse which of these three Consequences he will stand by in Behalf of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty; but if they wou'd take the Advice of *a Friend to the Honest Part of them*, I wou'd recommend the first Conclusion to be fittest for them, for the following Reasons.

1. Because since Humane Infallibility is (*and with good Reason*) disown'd by the Church of *England*, both for her self and every Body else, it can be no Diminution to her Reputation, when she has found her self mistaken, and impos'd upon, to acknowledge her Error; *a wise Man will always own, rather than defend a Mistake.*

2. Because 'tis my Opinion that their Way is hedg'd up against any other Pretence, Evasion, or Reservation, and therefore 'tis with me the only thing that Charity can say for them, and must remain so, till I find something else said that is more to the purpose.

But the Mischief of all is, that if this be honestly acknowledg'd (*as is doubtless most true*) that the Church of *England* was mistaken, and impos'd upon, to espouse a Senseless Absurd Principle, contrary to the Nature of Government and Allegiance, *&c.* why then they come over to this Consequence;

That Government and Allegiance are both Conditional, and Oaths of Subjects are always to be consider'd in a Constructive Sense, with Conditions of Protection, and

the like; a thing which is without queſtion the real Meaning of all Oaths of Allegiance; otherwiſe Subjects may be put under an Abſolute Neceſſity of Perjury, or State Martyrdom, by often Swearing what may be impoſſible for them to perform.

The Town of *Aeth* in *Flanders* has been about Six Times, and the Town of *Rhinebergh* in *Gueldre* about Twelve Times, taken and Retaken; and as often as new Maſters had Poſſeſſion of the Place, ſo often the poor Inhabitants have ſworn to their new Lords: What can the Meaning of ſuch an Oath be, but that they will be faithful to them ſo long as they keep Poſſeſſion of the Place? 'Twou'd be ridiculous to imagine the Impoſers of the Oath requir'd any more.

If our Zealous Churchmen worded an Oath contrary to the very Nature of Swearing Allegiance, let them anſwer for it who firſt made it, then took it, then broke it: But the Nature of the thing can leave Room for no other Suggeſtion that I know of.

Till then ſome further Argument is produc'd, it muſt reſt here, that the Church of *England* was Miſtaken, Impoſed upon, *&c.* that ſhe finds when the Laws are Broken, the Right of the People Invaded, the Root of the Government Struck at, Church and State Undermin'd, and Deſpotick Tyranny at the Door, the Native Right of the People is Superior, and they may aſſume a Power to Right themſelves.

And ſo we are brought back to Whiggiſm and Forty-One; and, Gentlemen, there is no Remedy for it, help it if ye can.

Where now is the Difference between Church Loyalty and Whiggiſh Loyalty, Round-head or Cavalier, Churchman or Diſſenter, Whig or Tory? All are alike; they are pleas'd, when legally Govern'd; Quarrelſome and Unruly, if Oppreſt; and will Defend themſelves, if Aſſaulted, tho' it be by their Kings, or any Body elſe.

Why then is the Difference kept up? Methinks they might all be Friends together, for they are all alike; the Diſſenters have been in their times as Loyal, and the Church of *England* in their time as Diſloyal, one as another.

Vice

Vice versa; the Diſſenters have been as Diſloyal, and the Churchmen as Loyal, as one another upon the ſame occaſion; they have been both Sufferers, and have ſubmitted to the Government; ay, and to the Oppreſſions and Perſecutions of their Superiors and Soveraigns; and again upon the like Occaſions, they have both of them been Rebels, *if their own Language may be ſo far uſed*; they have both of them, in their Turn, taken Arms againſt, and depos'd their Rightful and Lawful Kings.

So that in my Opinion, *with a Latitude to all that think otherwiſe, to think as they pleaſe*, the Church of *England*, and their Neighbours the Diſſenters, have nothing to quarrel with one another about, as to Loyalty; as to other Matters I have nothing to ſay to them, nor ſhall not mingle it with this Diſcourſe.

Nor do I think I am writing a Satyr againſt the Church of *England*, nor is it at all intended to be ſo; and to ſtop all Pretences that way, I take the Freedom to ſay, here has been no Crime, the Church of *England* has been in the right of it; not in taking Arms, but the Error was in Eſpouſing, Crying up, and Pretending to a Blind Abſolute Obedience to Princes, be their Commands never ſo Abſolute, Tyrannical or Illegal; this neither the Doctrine nor Practice of the Church of *England*, nor of any Church or People in the Chriſtian World, ever pretended to; and therefore the Fault lay in thoſe People, who being themſelves Members of the Church of *England*, ſuffer'd themſelves to be deluded by State Miniſters, to foſter a Tenent upon the Church, which her Original Conſtitution never pretended to, and then call it the Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

The firſt beginning of their pretended Doctrine was found in *Manwaring*'s and *Sibthorp*'s Libels, in the Days of King *Charles* I. cajoling the King; and then to pleaſe him, endeavouring to wheedle the People into a Belief of the Divine Right of Kingly Government; and affirming, that the King was not oblig'd by the Laws in the Adminiſtration of the Government.

Upon this prepoſterous Foundation they built the Illegitimate

gitimate Structure of Absolute Undisputed Obedience; for if Kingly Power were once prov'd to be immediately deriv'd from Divine Authority, Absolute Obedience wou'd be a Consequence no Body cou'd dispute, since the same Obedience without Reserve wou'd be due to the Delegated Power, as to the Power Delegating.

And tho' this is a Point easily enough confuted, yet being willing to keep the present Dispute within as small a Compass as we can, I think our Argument has nothing at all to do with it.

Whether Government be of Divine Original or not, seems not the Question here; for if it be not so, then, as before, the Church of *England* have been Mistaken, and Imposed upon; and if it be so, then the Church of *England* has trampled under Foot their own Doctrine, turn'd Rebels to God, and Apostates from the Faith they have profest, have Sacrilegiously and Traiterously taken up Arms against their Prince, assaulted the Lord's Anointed, *resisted the Powers, which are the Ordinance of God*, deposed their Lawful Soveraign, broken their Allegiance, and consequently *are a Parcel of Perjur'd Rebels*; every Jot as bad as the worst Roundhead Regicide, and Rebel of the Year Forty-One.

What more or less can be said I profess I know not, and am in great Expectation of something new in the Matter; for I cannot find in all the Writings I have met with, any thing to contradict it.

The bringing Government and Obedience to the proper Circumstances of mutual Compact between King and People, seems to me to be the only Method to unravel this Skein of entangl'd Principles; the Nature of Government has made it the necessary Consequence of all Argument relating to Power; and I cou'd give Instances in all the Nations in the World, that some time or other, even the Right of Succession to Government, *which must be as Sacred as the Power*, has been Interrupted and Limited by the People, in case of Tyranny and Illegal Governing; and every Nation, *and this among the rest*, has oftentimes Depos'd their Princes for the Preservation of the State,

State, when either Incapacity for Government, Tyrannical Usurpation, or other Male-Administration, has been the Case.

But this I think also needless here; every one that is vers'd in History can read the numerous Examples in the *Roman*, *Grecian* and *Persian* Histories, *even Sacred Histories, where Kings were more particularly of Divine Right than any where*, are full of them; the Histories of *Spain*, *Portugal*, *France*, *Lombardy*, the Empires of *Germany* and *Muscovy*, even the Papal Chair, have suffer'd Convulsions and Revolutions, the Deposing and Displacing their Soveraigns, when the Peoples Good, *which is and ever was, the Soul, the Center, the End, and the Cause of all Government*, came to be in the Dispute.

But to return to the Principles of the Two Parties we are now discoursing of; the Whigs as before, have always asserted this to be their Notion of Government and Governours; and the Church of *England*, *however some among them have topt an empty Notion upon them*, have all along, and *now at last once for all*, own'd it by their Practice.

That Kings when they descend to Tyranny,
Dissolve the Bond, and leave the Subject free.
True-born Eng. Man, *P.* 47.

The Act for the further Limitation of the Crown past in the last Parliament, and the Right of the People therein Declar'd and Recogniz'd, I wou'd ask my Opponent whose Act and Deed it was? Will they say it was a Whiggish Act, made by a Phanatical House of Commons? *I dare say there was not Ten Dissenters in the House*; let them descend with us into Particulars, let them draw out a *Black List* of Members, who in that Loyal Honest *English* Parliament gave their Hands to the last Settlement and Declaration of Right, and let us *tell Noses*, and put a Brand upon the *Phanaticks* among them.

Will they tell us it was a *Phanatical Parliament* that set the Crown upon the Queen's Head? I hope they will own Her Majesty, and their Lordships the Bishops, are part of the

Church of *England*; for if the Head and the principal Members are not, we know not who are.

Will they tell us that Sir. *E. S.* Sir. *B. S.* Sir *J. B.* Mr. *H——y*, Sir *C——r M——ve*, and a Hundred more of that Side, were Whigs and Common-wealth-Men?

How comes is to pass in *England*, that no *Papist* can inherit? *Divine Right* ought to supercede all Precautions, and *the Young Prince of* Savoy, not the *House of Hannover* ought to Reign with a *Non Obstante* to all Humane Limitation, if all was from Heaven? Where are our Right-Line-Men now! Why, truly the Reason is plain, the *Church of England*, *People of England*, *a Church of England*, *Parliament of England*, have thought fit to Declare, that for the Good of the People, *to which all Right of Succession to Power must give way*, *because from them all Power it self does derive*, and by the Voice of that people (in which Authority sufficient is Legally Grounded) it is Unanimously agreed, that *we will not have a Papist to Reign over us.*

All this is too plain to admit of a Dispute; and now to me it seems Preposterous why any Men shou'd keep up the Distinction between Parties as to Loyalty, when indeed there is no manner of Difference in the Case.

I have talk'd several times of Bearing, Suffering, being Persecuted and Oppress'd, as the Dissenters in their time have been more than enough, and again in their Turn the Church of *England* have been Persecuted too; for as I noted before, they were once the *Schismaticks*, the *Whigs*, and the *Dissenters*. Now I think 'tis not very foreign to my Argument to examine whether of the Two behav'd themselves under their Sufferings with the greatest Submission, who showd most Absolute Obedience to their Superiors, and who *first*, *or oftenest*, rebell'd against their Lawful Soveraign.

The Protestants under *Henry* VIII. were the first Dissenters; they were kept Under, Persecuted, and put to Death as Rebels and Schismaticks. Now upon due Search it will be found, that under the Protection of Two Protestant Queens, Wives of King *Henry* VIII. they had more

more than once form'd such Interest at Court, and in the Kingdom, as to begin to be formidable to the Popish Powers then reigning; and the Fall of the Lord *Cromwell* was thought a necessary Policy in King *Henry*, to prevent the Plots of the *Phanatical Church of* England *Hereticks*; a long Account of which may be read in the Life of that Prince.

King *Edward* the VI. a Zealous and pious Prince, made no Scruple for the *Propagation* of the *Protestant* Church of *England*, of which he was the Glorious Founder, to set aside the Lawful and Undisputed Succession of his own Sisters, to Establish the Crown in the Lady *Jane Grey*, who he knew wou'd carry on the Work of Reformation.

There's an Instance of the Zeal for Succession in the Right Line in the First Protestant Head that ever the Church of England *had.*

After this, the Gospellers, *that is, the Church of* England *Protestants of* Suffolk, having some Sense of Injury done to the *Princess Mary*, and willing to have the Succession go on in the Right Line, provided they cou'd both preserve their Religion and Loyalty too; Capitulate with her, and promise to stand by her, provided she wou'd promise to preserve, and make no Alteration in their Establish'd Church of *England.*

Here the Church of *England* Men own'd the Liberty of their Religion to be Superior to their Loyalty to her; and that they had a Right to Submit, or not to Submit, as their Liberty was, or was not, Secure: and accordingly Condition'd with her before they wou'd Acknowledge her to be their Queen.

And we see how Heaven punish'd them for venturing on the Word of a *Prince*, when their Religion and Liberty was at Stake.

In this Queen's Time the Church having been again Suppress'd, and Popery Erected, Sir *Thomas Wyat*, an honest Church of *England* Protestant, with a very good Body of Men, took up Arms against their Lawful Princess for breaking her Word, in Defence of their *Dear Religion Establish'd by Blessed King* Edward, which were the very Words of

of the Manifeſto they Publiſh'd: The Londoners, with 800 Men ſent by the Queen againſt them, thought it no Treachery to Deſert their Lawful Popiſh Queen, and go over to their Proteſtant Church of *England* Brethren.

We have nothing to do with the Juſtification of this Fact, 'tis ſufficient that ſo it was, and that theſe were Proteſtants of the Church of *England*, in the firſt and pureſt part of their Principles, and let them juſtifie the Fact if they pleaſe.

Queen *Elizabeth* Succeds, and then the Church of *England* ſhone in its Meridian Glory; and then grew up ſome, who aiming, *as I ſaid before*, at a further Reformation, and the Church refuſing to hearken to it, form'd a new Party of Diſſenters, and theſe were call'd *Puritans*, and ſince that *Phanaticks*.

Now I Challenge the Defender of this Cauſe to tell me one Diſloyal Act, one Plot againſt the Government, one Diſturbance of the Civil Peace, among theſe Diſſenters, from the beginning of this Queen, which was their own beginning, to the Reign of King *Charles* I. which was a continued Term of 80 Years; and yet, during this time, they ſuffer'd all manner of Indignities, Reproaches, Fining, Impriſonings, Baniſhment, Confiſcations, and Corporal Puniſhments.

So that hitherto the Paſſive Obedience of the Diſſenters hath far exceeded that of the Church of *England*. Theſe had but Five Years Oppreſſion under Queen *Mary*, and in that Five Years they once Capitulated with their Soveraign to make her Queen upon Conditions, and once took Arms againſt her after ſhe was Queen; and *by that* I muſt always underſtand, that if they did not Depoſe and Deſtroy her, it was becauſe they cou'd not; *and if they had done it, no doubt they had cauſe ſufficient to Juſtifie them before God and Man.* The *Puritans* after this ſuffered all that their *too cruel Brethren* of the Church of *England* laid upon them during Three tedious Reigns, before they ſo much as made the leaſt offer at doing themſelves Juſtice; and for 80 Years together exercis'd that *Paſſive Obedience* which they never pretended to.

At

At last they took Arms, and when they did, they did it to purpose, carried all before them, subdued Monarchy, cut off their King's Head, and *all that*.

After the Restoration Things began to return to their old Channel and 30 Years more the Dissenters endur'd another *Egyptian* Servitude, were *Persecuted*, *Plunder'd*, *Indicted*, *Imprison'd*, *Plagu'd* with Impositions, Stigmatiz'd with a Thousand Reproaches, their Meeting-Houses Demolish'd, their Estates Confiscated, their Persons Excommunicated, and Anathematiz'd, Sworn into *Plots* they never heard of, and into Crimes they never Committed, Dragg'd to Goals, Gibbets and Scaffolds, and the like; *all this while Passive-Obedience, if there were any such thing*, was found among them more than any where else; for here was no Rebellion, no Insurrection, nor breaking of the *Peace* by the Dissenters, notwithstanding all those Oppositions.

After this comes King *James* the Second to the Crown, and he turn'd the Scale, and, together with Invasion of Liberty, falls upon the Church, begins to Rifle her of her Trophies, *for no Essentials had been touch'd*, and how long did she bear it? Not 80 Years, not 30 Years, no, not so many Months.

What did she do? Truly nothing but what she ought to have done: Defend her Liberty and Religion by Force, against Unjust Invasion and Tyranny: nothing but what all the Nations in the World have done, and wou'd do again if they cou'd.

The only Error we charge upon the Church of *England*, was setting up pretences of what they really wou'd not practice; crying up themselves for Fools, when we knew they were Wiser Men, calling themselves humble Slaves, but when the Trial came, proving Stubborn, Refractory, *Liberty Mongers*, even as bad as the worst Whig or Phanatick of them all.

For the future then, if a Humble Mediator might be permitted to give Advice to the Gentlemen of the Church of *England*, it shou'd be in these short and friendly Terms.

Pray

Pray, Gentlemen, never be imposed upon, to pretend to more Loyalty, and more slavish Principles than you intend to practice.

Never pretend to more Obedience than your Sovereign requires. Our Late King, who I am not asham'd to show as a Pattern for future Ages, requir'd; and Her present Majesty, *without Affront to Her Majesty's Authority it may be said*, requires no further Obedience from the People of *England*, than the Laws of *England* require.

To Govern according to Law, is a full Satisfaction to the People; and to obey according to Law, is a full Satisfaction to the Soveraign. The Laws are the Test both of the Royal Authority, and of the Subjects Obedience; and to pretend to more Obedience than the Law requires, Is abusing your Prince, and abusing your Selves.

Never be ashamed to own, with *your Brethren the Whigs*, that you are willing to Submit to Authority, but that you expect to be govern'd according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

Let the Scotch Motto be set upon your Liberties; and according to your constant Practice, *as well as theirs*; let all Men know you design to make it Good, *Nemo me Impune Lacessit.*

And as it really never was the Principle of the Church of *England, nor were a Hundredth Part of the Members of the Church tainted with it*; so for the Future 'tis hoped you will not suffer such to Mingle themselves among you, or to Act in the Name of the Church of *England*, who pretend to a Blind Absolute Obedience to Princes.

And *Lastly*, Gentlemen, a little more Modesty to your Humble Servants, your Protestant Brethren the Dissenters, or Whigs, I mean as to Matter of Loyalty: For in Truth, Gentlemen, we do not see any Reason you have to Reproach us in that Matter, you being in every Particular as faulty that way as your Neighbours.

THE

The Shorteſt way with the Diſſenters:

Or, Propoſals for the Eſtabliſhment of the Church.

SIR *Roger L'Eſtrange* tells us a Story in his Collection of Fables, of the Cock and the Horſes. The Cock was gotten to Rooſt in the Stable, among the Horſes, and there being no Racks, or other Conveniencies for him, it ſeems, he was forc'd to Rooſt upon the Ground; the Horſes joſtling about for room, and putting the Cock in danger of his Life, he gives them this grave Advice; *Pray Gentlefolks let us ſtand ſtill, for fear we ſhould tread upon one another.*

There are ſome People in the World, who now they are *Unpearcht*, and reduc'd to an Equality with other People, and under ſtrong and very juſt Apprehenſions of being further Treated as they deſerve, begin, with *Æſop*'s Cock, to Preach up Peace and Union, and the Chriſtian Duties of Moderation, forgetting, that when they had the Power in their Hands, thoſe Graces were Strangers in their Gates.

It is now near Fourteen Years that the Glory and Peace of the pureſt and moſt flouriſhing Church in the World has been Eclips'd, Buffetted, and Diſturb'd, by a ſort of Men, who God in his Providence has ſuffer'd to inſult over her, and bring her down; theſe have been the Days of her Humiliation and Tribulation: She has born with an invincible Patience the Reproach of the Wicked, and God has at laſt heard her Prayers, and deliver'd her from the Oppreſſion of the Stranger.

And now they find their Day is over, their Power gone, and the Throne of this Nation poſſeſt by a Royal, *Engliſh*, True, and ever Conſtant, Member of, and Friend to, the Church

Church of *England*. Now they find that they are in danger of the Church of *England*'s juſt Reſentments; now they cry out *Peace*, *Union*, *Forbearance*, and *Charity*, as if the Church had not too long harbour'd her Enemies under her Wing, and nouriſh'd the Viperous Brood, till they hiſs and fly in the Face of the Mother that cheriſh'd them.

No, *Gentlemen*, the Time of Mercy is paſt, your *Day of Grace is over*; you ſhou'd have practis'd Peace, and Moderation, and Charity, if you expected any your ſelves.

We have heard none of this Leſſon for Fourteen Years paſt: We have been huff'd and bully'd with your Act of Toleration; you have told us that you are the *Church eſtabliſh'd by Law*, as well as others; have ſet up your *Canting Synagogues* at our Church-Doors, and the Church and Members have been loaded with Reproaches, with Oaths, Aſſociations, Abjurations, and what not; where has been the Mercy, the Forbearance, the Charity, you have ſhewn to *tender Conſciences of the Church* of *England*, that cou'd not take Oaths *as faſt as you made 'em*; that having ſworn Allegiance to their lawful and rightful King, cou'd not diſpence with that Oath, *their King being ſtill alive*, and ſwear to your new *Hodge-podge of a Dutch Government?* Theſe have been turn'd out of their Livings, and they and their Families left to ſtarve; their Eſtates double Tax'd, to carry on a War they had *no Hand in*, and you *got nothing by*: What Account can you give of the Multitudes you have forc'd to comply, againſt their Conſciences, with your new *ſophiſtical Politicks*, who like new Converts in *France*, Sin becauſe they can't Starve. And now the Tables are turn'd upon you, you *muſt not be Perſecuted*, *'tis not a Chriſtian Spirit*.

You have *Butcher'd* one King, *Depos'd* another King, and made a *mock King* of a Third; and yet you cou'd have the Face to expect to be employ'd and truſted by the Fourth; any Body that did not know the Temper of your Party, wou'd ſtand amaz'd at the Impudence as well as Folly, to think of it.

Your Management of your *Dutch Monarch*, whom you reduc'd to a meer *King of Cl——s*, is enough to give any future

future Princes such an Idea of your Principles, as to warn them sufficiently from coming into your Clutches; and God be thank'd, the Queen is out of your Hands, knows you, and will have a care of you.

There is no doubt but the supream Authority of a Nation has in it self a Power, *and a Right to that Power*, to execute the Laws upon any part of that Nation it governs. The execution of the known Laws of the Land, and that with but a gentle Hand neither, was all that the phanatical Party of this Land have ever call'd Persecution; this they have magnified to a Height, that the Sufferings of the *Hugonots* in *France* were not to be compar'd with —— Now to execute the known Laws of a Nation upon those who transgress them, after voluntarily consenting to the making those Laws, can never be call'd Persecution, but Justice. But Justice is always Violence to the Party offending, for every Man is Innocent in his own Eyes. The first execution of the Laws against Dissenters in *England*, was in the Days of King *James* the First; and what did it amount to, truly, the worst they suffer'd, was at their own request, to let them go to *New-England*, and erect a new Collony, and give them great Priviledges, Grants, and suitable Powers, keep them under Protection, and defend them against all Invaders, and receive no Taxes or Revenue from them. This was the cruelty of the Church of *England*, fatal 'Lenity! 'Twas the ruin of that excellent Prince, King *Charles* the First. Had King *James* sent all the Puritans in *England* away to the *West-Indies*, we had been a national, unmix'd, Church; the Church of *England* had been kept undivided and entire.

To requite the Lenity of the Father, they take up Arms against the Son; Conquer, Pursue, Take, Imprison, and at last put to Death, the Anointed of God, and Destroy the very Being and Nature of Government, setting up a sordid Impostor, who had neither Title to Govern, nor Understanding to Manage, but supplied that want with Power, bloody and desperate Councils and Craft, without Conscience.

Had

Had not King *James* the First withheld the full execution of the Laws; had he given them strict Justice, he had clear'd the Nation of them, and the Consequences had been plain; his *Son had never been Murther'd by them*, nor the Monarchy overwhelm'd; 'twas *too much Mercy* shewn them, was the ruin of his Posterity, and the ruin of the Nation's Peace. One would think the Dissenters should not have the Face to believe that we are to be wheedl'd and canted into Peace and Toleration, when they know that they have once requited us with a Civil War, and once with an intollerable and unrighteous Persecution for our former Civility.

Nay to encourage us to be easie with them, 'tis apparent that they never had the Upper-hand of the Church, but they treated Her with all the Severity, with all the Reproach and Contempt as was possible: What Peace, and what Mercy did they shew the Loyal Gentry of the Church of *England* in the Time of their Triumphant Commonwealth? How did they put all the Gentry of *England* to Ransom, whether they were Actually in Arms for the King or not, making People compound for their Estates, and starve their Families? How did they treat the Clergy of the Church of *England*, sequester'd the Ministers, devour'd the Patrimony of the Church, and divided the Spoil, by sharing the Church-Lands among their Soldiers, and turning her Clergy out to starve? just such Measure as they have meted, shou'd be measur'd them again.

Charity and Love is the known Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and 'tis plain She has put it in Practice towards the Dissenters, even beyond what they ought, till She has been wanting to Her Self, and in effect, unkind to her own Sons; particularly, in the too much Lenity of King *James* the first, mentioned before; had he so Rooted the Puritans from the Face of the Land, which he had an Opportunity early to have done, they had not had the Power to vex the Church, as since they have done.

In the Days of King *Charles* the Second, how did the Church reward their Bloody Doings with Lenity and Mercy,

cy, *except the barbarous Regicides of the pretended Court of Juſtice*: not a Soul ſuffer'd for all the Blood in an Unnatural War: King *Charles* came in all Mercy and Love, cheriſh'd them, prefer'd them, employ'd them, withheld the Rigour of the Law, and oftentimes, even againſt the Advice of his Parliament, gave them Liberty of Conſcience; and how did they requite him with the villanous Contrivance to Depoſe and Murther him and his Succeſſor at the *Rye-Plot*!

KING *James*, as if Mercy was the inherent Quality of the Family, began his Reign with unuſual Favour to them: Nor could their joining with the Duke of *Monmouth* againſt him move him to do himſelf Juſtice upon them; but that miſtaken Prince thought to win them by Gentleneſs and Love, Proclaim'd an Univerſal Liberty to them, and rather diſcountenanc'd the Church of *England* than them; how they requited him all the World knows.

THE late Reign is too freſh in the Memory of all the World to need a Comment; how under Pretence of joining with the Church in redreſſing ſome Grievances, they puſht Things to that Extremity, in Conjunction with ſome miſtaken Gentlemen, as to Depoſe the late King, as if the Grievance of the Nation cou'd not have been redreſs'd but by the abſolute Ruin of the Prince: Here's an Inſtance of their Temper, their Peace and Charity. To what height they carried themſelves during the Reign of a King of their own; how they crope into all Places of Truſt and Profit; how they Inſinuated into the Favour of the King, and were at firſt prefer'd to the higheſt Places in the Nation; how they engroſs'd the Miniſtry, and *above all, how pitifully they Manag'd*, is too plain to need any Remarks.

BUT particularly their Mercy and Charity, the Spirit of Union, they tell us ſo much of, has been remarkable in *Scotland*, if any Man wou'd ſee the Spirit of a Diſſenter, let him look into *Scotland*: there they made entire Conqueſt of the Church, trampled down the Sacred Orders, and ſuppreſt the Epiſcopal Government, with an abſolute, and, as they ſuppoſe, irretrievable Victory,

tho' 'tis poſſible, *they may find themſelves Miſtaken:* Now 'twou'd be a very proper Queſtion to ask their *Impudent Advocate, the Obſervator,* Pray how much Mercy and Favour did the Members of the Epiſcopal Church find in *Scotland,* from the *Scotch* Presbyterian Government; and I ſhall undertake for the Church of *England,* that the Diſſenters ſhall ſtill receive as much here, tho' they deſerve but little.

In a ſmall Treatiſe of the Sufferings of the Epiſcopal Clergy in *Scotland,* 'twill appear what Uſage they met with, how they not only loſt their Livings, but in ſeveral Places, were plunder'd and abus'd in their Perſons; the Miniſters that cou'd not Conform, turn'd out with numerous Families, and no Maintenance, and hardly Charity enough left to relieve them with a bit of Bread; and the Cruelties of the Parties are innumerable, and not to be attempted in this ſhort Piece.

And now to prevent the diſtant Cloud which they perceiv'd to hang over their Heads from *England*; with a true *Presbyterian Policy,* they put in for *a Union of Nations,* that *England* might unite their Church with the Kirk of *Scotland,* and their Presbyterian Members ſit in our Houſe of Commons, and their Aſſembly of *Scotch* canting Long-Cloaks in our Convocation, what might have been if our Phanatick, Whiggiſh States-men continu'd, God only knows, but we hope we are out of fear of that now.

'Tis alledg'd by ſome of the Faction, and they began to Bully us with it; that if we won't Unite with them, they will not ſettle the Crown with us again, but when Her Majeſty Dies, will chuſe a King for themſelves.

If they won't, we muſt make them, and 'tis not the firſt time we have let them know that we are able. The Crowns of theſe Kingdoms have not ſo far diſowned the Right of Succeſſion, but they may retrieve it again, and if *Scotland* thinks to come off from a Succeſſive to an Elective State of Government, *England* has not promiſed not to aſſiſt the Right Heir, and put them into Poſſeſſion, without any regard to their ridiculous Settlements.

THESE

THESE are the Gentlemen, these their ways of treating the Church, both at home and abroad. Now let us exame the Reasons they pretend to give, why we shou'd be favourable to them, why we should continue and tolerate them among us.

First, THEY are very Numerous, they say, They are a great Part of Nation, and we cannot Suppress them.

To this may be answer'd, 1. THEY are not so Numerous as the Protestants in *France*, and yet the *French* King effectually clear'd the Nation of them at once, and we don't find he Misses them at Home.

But I am not of the Opinion they are so Numerous as is pretended, their party is more Numerous than their Persons, and those mistaken People of the Church who are misled and deluded by their wheedling Artifices, to join with them, make their Party the greater; but those will open their Eyes, when the Government shall set heartily about the Work, and come off from them, as some Animals, which they say, always desert a House when 'tis likely to fall.

2*dly*. The more Numerous, the more Dangerous, and therefore the more Need to Suppress them; and God has suffer'd us to bear them as Goads in our Sides, for not utterly extinguishing them long ago.

3*dly*. If we are to allow them, only because we cannot Suppress them, then it ought to be try'd whether we can or no; and I am of Opinion 'tis easie to be done, and cou'd prescribe Ways and Means, if it were proper, but I doubt not the Government will find effectual Methods for the rooting the Contagion from the Face of this Land.

ANOTHER Argument they use, which is this, That 'tis a Time of War, and we have need to Unite against the common Enemy.

WE anſwer, This common Enemy had been no Enemy, if they had not made him ſo; he was quiet, in peace, and no way diſturb'd, or encroach'd upon us, and we know no reaſon we had to quarrel with him.

But further, We make no queſtion but we are able to deal with this common Enemy without their help; but why muſt we unite with them, becauſe of the Enemy? Will they go over to the Enemy, if we do not prevent it by a Union with them?——We are very well contented they ſhou'd, and make no queſtion we ſhall be ready to deal with them and the commonEnemy too, and better without them than with them.

Beſides, if we have a common Enemy, there is the more need to be ſecure againſt our private Enemies; if there is one common Enemy, we have the leſs need to have an Enemy in our Bowels.

'Twas a great Argument ſome People uſed againſt Suppreſſing the Old Money, that 'twas a Time of War, and 'twas too great a Riſque for the Nation to run, if we ſhou'd not maſter it, we ſhou'd be undone: and yet the Sequel prov'd the Hazard was not ſo great, but it might be maſter'd, and the Succeſs was anſwerable. The Suppreſſing the Diſſenters is not a harder Work, nor a Work of leſs Neceſſity to the Publick: we can never enjoy a ſettled uninterrupted Union and Tranquility in this Nation, till the Spirit of Whiggiſme, Faction, and Schiſm is melted down like the Old-Money.

To talk of the Difficulty, is to Frighten our ſelves with Chimæra's and Notions of a Powerful Party, which are indeed a Party without Power; Difficulties often appear greater at a diſtance, than when they are ſearch'd into with Judgment, and diſtinguiſh'd from the Vapours and Shadows that attend them.

We are not to be frightned with it; this Age is wiſer than that, by all our own Experience, *and theirs too*; King *Charles* the Firſt had early ſuppreſt this Party, if he had took more deliberate meaſures. In ſhort, 'tis not worth arguing, to talk of their Arms, their *Monmouths*, and *Shaftsburys*, and *Argiles* are gone, their

Dutch-

Dutch-Sanctuary is at an end, Heaven has made way for their Deſtruction, and if we do not cloſe with the Divine occaſion, we are to blame our ſelves, and may remember that we had once an opportunity to ſerve the Church of *England*, by extirpating her implacable Enemies, and having let ſlip the Minute that Heaven preſented, may experimentally Complain, *Poſt eſt Occaſio Calva.*

Here are ſome popular Objections in the way.

As *Firſt*, THE Queen has promis'd them, to continue them in their Tolerated Liberty; and has told us She will be a Religious Obſerver of Her Word.

WHAT Her Majeſty will do we cannot help, but what, as the Head of the Church, She ought to do, is another Caſe: Her Majeſty has promiſed to Protect and Defend the Church of *England*, and if She cannot effectually do that without the Deſtruction of the Diſſenters, She muſt of courſe diſpence with one Promiſe to comply with another. But to anſwer *this Cavil more effectually*: Her Majeſty did never promiſe to Maintain the Toleration, to the deſtruction of the Church; but it is upon Suppoſition that it may be compatible with the well being and ſafety of the Church which She had declar'd She would take eſpecial Care of: Now if theſe two Intereſts claſh, 'tis plain Her Majeſties Intentions are to Uphold, Protect, Defend, and Eſtabliſh the Church, and this we conceive is impoſſible.

Perhaps it may be ſaid, THAT the Church is in no immediate danger from the Diſſenters, and therefore 'tis time enough: But this is a weak Anſwer.

For *firſt*, IF a Danger be real, the Diſtance of it is no Argument againſt, but rather a Spur to quicken us to prevention, leſt it be too late hereafter.

And *2dly*, Here is the Opportunity, and the only one perhaps that ever the Church had to ſecure her ſelf, and deſtroy her Enemies.

The Repreſentatives of the Nation have now an Opportunity, the Time is come which all good Men ha' wiſh'd for, that the Gentlemen of *England* may ſerve the Church of *England*; now they are protected and encouraged by a Church of *England* Queen.

What will you do for your Siſter in the Day that She ſhall be ſpoken for?

If ever you will eſtabliſh the beſt Chriſtian Church in the World.

If ever you will ſuppreſs the Spirit of Enthuſiaſm.

If ever you will free the Nation from the viperous Brood that have ſo long ſuck'd the Blood of their Mother.

If ever you will leave your Poſterity free from Faction and Rebellion, this is the time.

This is the time to pull up this Heretical Weed of Sedition, that has ſo long diſturb'd the Peace of our Church, and poiſoned the good Corn.

BUT, ſays another Hot and Cold Objector, this is renewing Fire and Faggot, reviving the Act *De Heret. Comburendo*: This will be Cruelty in its Nature, and Barbarous to all the World.

I anſwer, 'TIS Cruelty to kill a Snake or a Toad in cold Blood, but the Poyſon of their Nature makes it a Charity to our Neighbours, to deſtroy thoſe Creatures, not for any perſonal Injury receiv'd, but for prevention; not for the Evil they have done, but the Evil they may do.

Serpents, Toads, Vipers, *&c.* are noxious to the Body, and poiſon the ſenſative Life; theſe poyſon the Soul, corrupt our Poſterity, enſnare our Children, deſtroy the Vitals of our Happineſs, our future Felicity, and contaminate the whole Maſs.

Shall any Law be given to ſuch wild Creatures? Some Beaſts are for Sport, and the Huntſmen give them advantages of Ground; but ſome are knock'd on the Head by all poſſible ways of Violence and Surprize.

I do not prescribe Fire and Faggot, but as *Scipio* said of *Carthage*, *Delenda est Carthago*, They are to be Rooted out of this Nation, if ever we will Live in Peace, serve God, or enjoy our own: As for the Manner, I leave it to those Hands who have a Right to execute God's Justice on the Nations and the Church's Enemies.

BUT if we must be frighted from this Justice under the specious Pretences, and odious Sense of Cruelty, nothing will be effected: 'Twill be more Barbarous to our own Children, and dear Posterity, when they shall reproach their Fathers, as we do ours, and tell us, '*You had an Opportunity to Root out this Cursed Race from the World, under the Favour and Protection of a true* English *Queen; and out of your foolish Pity you spared them, because, forsooth you would not be Cruel, and now our Church is Suppress't and Persecuted, our Religion trampl'd under Foot, our Estates Plunder'd, our Persons Imprisoned, and dragg'd to Jails, Gibbets and Scaffolds; your sparing this* Amelekite *Race is our Destruction, your Mercy to them proves Cruelty to your poor Posterity.*

HOW just will such Reflections be, when our Posterity shall fall under the mercileſs Clutches of this uncharitable Generation, when our Church shall be swallow'd up in Schism, Faction, Enthusiasm, and Confusion; when our Government shall be devolv'd upon Foreigners, and our Monarchy dwindled into a Republick.

'Twon'd be more rational for us, if we must spare this Generation, to summon our own to a general Massacre, and as we have brought them into the World Free, send them out so, and not betray them to Destruction by our supine Negligence, and then cry *it is Mercy.*

Moses was a Merciful Meek Man, and yet with what Fury did he run thro' the Camp, and cut the Throats of Three and thirty thousand of his dear *Israelites*, that were fallen into Idolatry; what was the reason? 'Twas Mercy to the rest, to make these Examples, to prevent the Destruction of the whole Army.

How many Millions of future Souls we save from Infe-

 ction

ction and Deluſion, if the preſent Race of poiſon'd Spirits were purg'd from the Face of the Land.

'TIS vain to trifle in this matter, the light fooliſh handling of them by Mulcts, Fines, *&c.* 'tis their Glory and their Advantage, if the Gallows inſtead of the Counter, and the Gallies inſtead of the Fines, were the Reward of going to a Conventicle, to preach or hear, there wou'd not be ſo many Sufferers, the Spirit of Martyrdom is over; they that will go to Church to be choſen Sheriffs and Mayors, would go to forty Churches rather than be Hang'd.

If one ſevere Law were made, and punctually executed, that who ever was found at a Conventicle, ſhou'd be Baniſh'd, the Nation, and the Preacher be Hang'd, we ſhou'd ſoon ſee an end of the Tale, they wou'd all come to Church; and one Age wou'd make us all One again.

TO talk of 5 *s.* a Month for not coming to the Sacrament, and 1 *s. per* Week for not coming to Church, this is ſuch a way of converting People as never was known, this is ſelling them a Liberty to tranſgreſs for ſo much Money: If it be not a Crime, why don't we give them full Licence? And if it be, no Price ought to compound for the committing it, for that is ſelling a Liberty to People to ſin againſt God and the Government.

If it be a Crime of the higheſt Conſequence both againſt the Peace and Welfare of the Nation, the Glory of God, the Good of the Church, and the Happineſs of the Soul, let us rank it among capital Offences, and let it receive a Puniſhment in proportion to it.

We Hang Men for Trifles, and Baniſh them for things not worth naming, but an Offence againſt God and the Church, againſt the Welfare of the World, and the Dignity of Religion, ſhall be bought off for 5 *s.* this is ſuch a ſhame to a Chriſtian Government, that 'tis with regret I tranſmit it to Poſterity.

IF Men ſin againſt God, affront his Ordinances, rebel againſt his Church, and diſobey the Precepts of their Superiors, let them ſuffer as ſuch capital *Crimes* deſerve, ſo will Religion flouriſh, and this divided Nation be once again united.

And

And yet the Title of Barbarous and Cruel will ſoon be taken off from this Law too. I am not ſuppoſing that all the Diſſenters in *England* ſhou'd be Hang'd or Baniſh'd, but as in caſes of Rebellions and Inſurrections, if a few of the Ring-leaders ſuffer, the Multitude are diſmiſt, ſo a few obſtinatePeople being made Examples,there's no doubt but the Severity of the Law would find a ſtop in the Compliance of the Multitude.

To make the reaſonableneſs of this matter out of queſtion, and more unanſwerably plain, let us examine for what it is that this Nation is divided into Parties and Factions, and let us ſee how they can juſtifie a Separation, or we of the Church of *England* can juſtifie our bearing the Inſults and Inconveniencies of the Party.

ONE of their leading Paſtors, and a Man of as much Learning as moſt among them,in his Anſwer to a Pamphlet, entituled, *An Enquiry into the Occaſional Conformity*, hath theſe Words, P. 27. *Do the Religion of the Church and the Meeting-houſes make two Religions? Wherein do they differ? The Subſtance of the ſame Religion is common to them both; and the Modes and Accidents are the things in which only they differ.* P. 28. *Thirty nine Articles are given us for the ſummary of our Religion, Thirty ſix contain the Subſtance of it, wherein we agree; Three the additional Appendices, about which we have ſome differences.*

Now, if as by their own acknowledgment, the Church of *England* is a true Church, and the Difference between them is only in a few Modes and Accidents, why ſhould we expect that they will ſuffer Gallies, corporal Puniſhment and Baniſhment for theſe Trifles? There is no queſtion but they will be wiſer, even their own Principles won't bear them out in it, they will certainly comply with the Laws, and with Reaſon,and tho' at the firſt, Severity may ſeem hard,the nextAge will feel nothing of it, the Contagion will be rooted out, the Diſeaſe being cur'd, there will be no need of the Operation, but if they ſhould venture to tranſgreſs, and fall into the Pit, all the World muſt condemn their Obſtinacy, as being without ground from their own Principles.

Thus

Thus the Pretence of Cruelty will be taken off, and the Party actually ſuppreſt, and the Diſquiets they have ſo often brout upon the Nation, prevented.

THEIR Numbers, and their Wealth makes them Haughty, and that 'tis ſo far from being an Argument to perſwade us to forbear them, that 'tis a Warning to us, without any more delay, to reconcile them to the Unity of the Church, or remove them from us.

AT preſent, Heaven be prais'd, they are not ſo Formidable as they have been, and 'tis our own fault if ever we ſuffer them to be ſo; Providence, and the Church of *England*, ſeems to join in this particular, that now the Deſtroyers of the Nation's Peace may be overturn'd, and to this end the preſent Opportunity ſeems to be put into our Hands.

To this end Her preſent Majeſty ſeems reſerv'd to enjoy the Crown, that the Eccleſiaſtick as well as Civil Rights of the Nation may be reſtor'd by her Hand.

To this end the Face of Affairs have receiv'd ſuch a Turn in the proceſs of a few Months, as never has been before; the leading Men of the Nation, the univerſal cry of the People, the unanimous Requeſt of the Clergy, agree in this, that the Deliverance of our Church is at Hand.

For this end has Providence given ſuch a Parliament, ſuch a Convocation, ſuch a Gentry, and ſuch a Queen as we never had before.

AND what may be the *Conſequences* of a Neglect of ſuch Opportunities? The Succeſſion of the *Crown* has but a dark Proſpect, another *Dutch* Turn may make the Hopes of it ridiculous, and the Practice impoſſible: Be the Houſe of our future Princes never ſo well inclin'd, they will be Foreigners; and many Years will be ſpent in ſuiting the Genius of Strangers to this *Crown*, and the Intereſts of the Nation; and how many Ages it may be before the *Engliſh* Throne be fill'd with ſo much Zeal and *Candour*, ſo much Tenderneſs and hearty Affection to the Church, as we ſee it now cover'd with, who can imagine?

'Tis

'Tis high time then for the Friends of the Church of *England*, to think of Building up, and Eſtabliſhing her, in ſuch a manner, that She may be no more Invaded by Foreigners, nor divided by Factions, Schiſms, and Error.

If this cou'd be done by gentle and eaſie Methods, I ſhou'd be glad, but the Wound is corroded, the Vitals begin to mortifie, and nothing but Amputation of Members can compleat the Cure; all the ways of Tenderneſs and Compaſſion, all perſwaſive Arguments have been made uſe of in vain.

The Humour of the Diſſenters has ſo encreas'd among the People, that they hold the Church in Defiance, and the Houſe of God is an Abomination among them: Nay, they have brought up their Poſterity in ſuch prepoſſeſt Averſions to our Holy Religion, that the ignorant Mob think we are all Idolaters, and Worſhippers of *Baal*; and account it a Sin to come within the Walls of our Churches.

The primitive Chriſtians were not more ſhie of a Heathen-Temple, or of Meat offer'd to Idols, nor the *Jews* of Swine's Fleſh, than ſome of our Diſſenters are of the Church, and the Divine Service ſolemnized therein.

This obſtinacy muſt be rooted out with the Profeſſion of it, while the Generation are left at liberty daily to affront God Almighty, and diſhonour his Holy Worſhip, we are wanting in our Duty to God, and our Mother the Church of *England*.

How can we anſwer it to God, to the Church, and to our Poſterity, to leave them entangled with Fanaticiſm, Error, and Obſtinacy, in the Bowels of the Nation; to leave them an Enemy in their Streets, that in time may involve them in the ſame Crimes, and endanger the utter Extirpation of Religion in the Nation.

What's the Difference betwixt this, and being ſubjected to the Power of the Church of *Rome*, from whence we have reform'd? If one be an extream on one Hand, and one on another, 'tis equally Deſtructive to the Truth, to have Errors ſettled among us, let them be of what Nature they will.

Both

Both are Enemies of our Church, and of our Peace, and why ſhou'd it not be as Criminal to admit an Enthuſiaſt as a Jeſuit? Why ſhou'd the *Papiſt* with his Seven Sacraments be worſe than the *Quaker* with no Sacraments at all? Why ſhould Religious-houſes be more intollerable than Meeting-houſes —*Alas! the Church of England!* What with Popery on one Hand, and Schiſmaticks on the other; how has She been Crucified between two Thieves.

Now *let us Crucifie the Thieves.* Let her Foundations be Eſtabliſh'd upon the Deſtruction of Her Enemies: The Doors of Mercy being always open to the returning Part of the deluded People: Let the Obſtinate be rul'd with the Rod of Iron.

Let all true Sons of ſo Holy and Oppreſſed a Mother, exaſperated by her Afflictions, harden their Hearts againſt thoſe who have Oppreſs'd Her.

And may God Almighty put it into the Hearts of all the Friends of Truth, to lift up a Standard againſt Pride and Antichriſt, that the Poſterity of the Sons of Error may be rooted out from the Face of this Land for ever ———.

A Brief

EXPLANATION

OF

A late Pamphlet, Entituled, The Shorteſt Way with the *Diſſenters.*

THE Author profeſſes he thought, when he wrote the Book, he ſhou'd never need to come to an Explication, and wonders to find there ſhould be any reaſon for it.

If any Man take the Pains ſeriouſly to reflect upon the Contents, the Nature of the Thing, and the Manner of the Stile, it ſeems Impoſſible to imagine it ſhould paſs for any thing but a Banter upon the High-flying Church-Men.

That it is free from any Seditious deſign, either of ſtirring up the Diſſenters to any Evil Practice by way of prevention; much leſs of animating others to their Deſtruction, will be plain, I think, to any Man that underſtands the preſent Conſtitution of *England*, and the Nature of our Government.

But ſince Ignorance, or Prejudice has led moſt Men to a haſty Cenſure of the Book, and ſome People are like to come under the Diſpleaſure of the Government for it, in Juſtice to thoſe who are in danger to ſuffer for it; in ſubmiſſion to the Parliament and Council, who may be offended at it; and in Courteſie to all miſtaken People, who it ſeems have not Penetrated into the real

real design: The Author presents the World with the Native Genuine Meaning and Design of the Paper, which he hopes may allay the Anger of the Government, or at least satisfie the minds of such as imagine a design to Enflame and Divide us.

The Paper, without the least retrospect to, or concern in the Publick Bills in Parliament, now depending; or any other Proceedings of either House, or of the Government relating to the Dissenters, whose Occasional Conformity the Author has constantly opposed, has its immediate Original from the Virulent Spirits of some Men who have thought fit to express themselves to the same Effect, in their Printed Books, *tho' not in Words so plain, and at length*, and by an *Irony not Unusual*, stands as a fair answer to several Books Published *in this Liberty of the Press*; which, if they had been handed to the Government with the same temper as this has, wou'd no question have found the same Treatment.

The Sermon Preach'd at *Oxford*, *the New Association*, the *Poetical Observator*, with numberless others; have said the same thing, in terms very little darker, and this Book stands fair to let those Gentlemen know, that what they design can no farther take with Mankind, than as their real meaning stands disguis'd by Artifice of words; but that when the Persecution and Destruction of the *Dissenters*, *the very thing they drive at*, is put into plain *English*, the whole Nation will start at the Notion, and Condemn the Author to be Hang'd for his Impudence.

The Author humbly hopes he shall find no harder Treatment for plain *English*, *without Design*, than those Gentlemen for their Plain Design, in Duller and Darker *English*.

Any Gentlemen who have Patience to peruse the Author of the *New Association*, will find Gallows, Galleys, Persecution and Destruction of the Dissenters are directly pointed

pointed at, as fairly intended, and design'd, as in this shortest way, as, *had it been real*, can be pretended; there is as much Virulence against a Union with *Scotland*, against King *WILLIAM*'s Goverment, and against the Line of *Hannover*, there is as much Noise and Pains taken in Mr. *S----lls* Sermon to blacken the Dissenters, and thereby to qualifie them for the Abhorrence of all Mankind, as is possible.

The meaning then of this Paper is in short to tell these Gentlemen,

1. That 'tis Nonsense to go round about, and tell us of the Crimes of the *Dissenters*, to prepare the World to believe they are not fit to Live in a Humane Society, that they are Enemies to the Government, and Law, to the QUEEN, and the Publick Peace, and the like; *the shortest way*, and the soonest, wou'd be to tell us plainly that they wou'd have them all hang'd, Banish'd and Destroy'd.

2. But withal to acquint those Gentlemen who fancy the time is come to bring it to pass, that they are mistaken, for that when the thing they mean, is put into plain *English*, the whole Nation replies with the *Assyrian* Captain, *Is thy Servant a Dog, that he shou'd do these things?* The Gentlemen are mistaken in every particular, it will not go down, the QUEEN, the Council, the Parliament are all Offended, to have it so much as suggested, that such a thing was possible to come into their Minds; and not a Man, but a Learned *Mercer*, not far from the Corner of *Fanchurch-street*, has been found to approve it.

Thus a poor Author has ventur'd to have all Mankind call him Villain, and Traytor to his Country and Friends, for making other People's thoughts speak in his Words.

From this Declaration of his real design, he humbly hopes the Lords of Her Majesties Council, or the House of Parliament, will be no longer offended, and that the poor

poor People in trouble on this Account ſhall be Pardoned or Excuſed.

He alſo deſires that all men who have taken Offence at the Book, miſtaking the Authors deſign; will ſuffer themſelves to think again, and withhold their Cenſure, till they find themſelves qualified to make a Venture like this for the good of their Native Country.

As to Expreſſions which ſeem to reflect upon Perſons or Nations; he declares them to be only the *Cant of the Nonjuring Party Expos'd*, and thinks it very neceſſary to let the World know that 'tis their uſual Language with which they Treat the *Late KING*, the *Scotch Union*, and the *Line of Hannover*.

'Tis hard, after all, that this ſhould not be perceived by all the Town, that not one man can ſee it, either Churchman or Diſſenter.

That not the Diſſenters themſelves can ſee that this was the only way to ſatisfy them, that whatever the Parliament might think fit to do to reſtrain Occaſional Communion, Perſecution and Deſtruction was never in their intention, and that therefore they have nothing to do but to be quiet and eaſie.

For any thing in the manner of the Paper which may offend either the Government, or private Perſons, the Author begs their Pardon, and *proteſting the Honeſty of his intention*, reſolves, if the People now in Trouble may be excuſed, to throw himſelf upon the Favour of the Government, rather than others ſhall be ruin'd for his miſtakes.

THE SHORTEST WAY TO Peace and Union, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

'IT was always my Opinion, that whoever ſhould 'go about to widen the Difference, or encreaſe 'the Miſunderſtandings between the Church of *England* 'and the Diſſenters, were the real Enemies of both.

''Tis an Unhappineſs that the ſober, thinking Men 'on both ſides are ſenſible of, that there ſhould be any 'Difference at all; and I am of the Opinion that would 'either ſide encline a little, the Breach might be eaſily 'leſſen'd, tho' perhaps not quite clos'd.

'And if ever a temper of Charity and Love ſhould 'chance to prevail in this contentious unhappy Nation, 'I am fully perſwaded, even a Capacity as weak as 'mine, might be able to propoſe Methods which might 'bring the Two Parties much nearer together.

'But while there is a breach of Charity, there can 'never be a union of Principles; and till the railing 'Spirit on either ſide is ſuppreſs'd, the Breach widens 'rather than heals, and all tends to the confuſion of the 'General Proteſtant Intereſt both at Home and A-'broad.

'That there are Persons on both sides, who either 'from Passion or Prejudice, Interest, or other worse 'Reasons, continue to encrease the unhappy strife, by 'rendring both sides suspected, and odious to one 'another, is a Truth too plain to be question'd; and 'twould be an Impertinence I cannot dispence with, 'to spend time in the proof of it.

'Nor is it so much my design to examin who they 'are, which in my opinion would be marking Men out 'for the General hatred, and exposing them to be ston'd 'in the Streets. If I could prevail with both sides to 'cease and discourage the practice, the Persons would 'see their Errors, and might be forgiven by God and 'the Nation.

'You are very much in the right of it, says a Gen-'tleman, that in defence of some angry People, resents 'a late unhappy Book of mine, call'd, *The Shortest Way*; '*You are in the right of it to conceal Names, lest your own 'should stand first in the Catalogue.*

'Truly I cannot deny but I am very sorry I Pub-'lish'd that Book, because the ill Management of it, 'has prevented my further Explaining of it; and now, 'because I unwarily let some things slip, at which the 'Government have too much cause to be Offended; 'and tho' to them who judge by outsides, my Design 'is Condemn'd, yet I cannot but protest to the 'World, that neither in that Book, nor in any thing 'I ever wrote, did I ever design to raise a Feud be-'tween the Dissenters and the Church of *England*; I 'never said, or believ'd, the Church of *England*, as a 'Body, design'd to ruine and destroy the Dissenters: 'But that there are some Men in the Church, who, 'indeed, are not of her, and who have by their Wri-'tings and Preachings testified the rancor of their Spi-'rits, and the earnest desires of their Souls to have 'the Dissenters ruin'd, is most true, and at those I le-'vell'd; however, an ill Marks-man I have been thought, 'to aim at one thing and shoot another.

'Nor,

'Nor am I making an Apology here to move the 'Mercy of the Government, I have already resolv'd 'in that Case, that as a good Subject does not willingly 'offend, so having by Inadvertancy fallen into the Pub-'lick Displeasure, I submit to the Clemency of my Su-'perior, with this Resolution, *It is the Queen, let Her 'Majesty do with me, what seems good in Her Eyes.*

'Nor shall the Apprehension of the Severity of Her 'Majesty's Resentment, cause me to cease the endeavour, 'of bringing, as far as writing can do it, a fair Re-'conciliation of Parties in View: When a Fray is begun, 'the Standers by may part them, and bring them toge-'ther; but if they will not shake Hands, 'tis their 'own Fault.

'And that I may inform the World, that as far as I 'have been able, this has always been both my Prin-'ciple and Practise; I Challenge the worst Enemies I 'have to find out, among any thing ever publish'd by 'me, the least Shaddow of a Temper differing from 'this healing Principle.

'To this end, the following Sheets have been com-'pos'd some Years ago, and have now very small Ad-'ditions, as to Circumstances, and were design'd as an 'Introduction to a healing Conjunction of Parties, 'which I had form'd in my Thoughts; for I doubt 'not, but I could easily lay down such a Scheme of a 'General Union of Protestants in this Nation, as to 'politick Interest, as well as Religion, as no Man on 'either side could oppose, without being a manifest 'Incendiary, a Disturber of the Publick Peace, and an 'Enemy to its establish'd Government: But while I am 'in the Hands of the Law, I think 'tis time to have 'done writing; and if the Spirit of Peace would but 'possess the Minds of Men, there are better Pens and 'better Heads than mine to make the Proposal.

'It is not for me to tell our Govevnours they take 'wrong Measures with the Dissenters; and the Dissen-'ters would be angry if I should tell them there is ill

'Blood among them; and some Church Men would 'think themselves injur'd, if I should say they imprudently Encrease it: But I heartily wish I could say, 'all these Three Things were false and idle Chimera's 'of my own.

'And yet I would be content to be condemn'd to '*Newgate* all the Days of my Life, if I did not lay down 'such undeniable Testimonies of the Truth of those 'Heads as should convince all the unbyas'd Judgments 'in the Nation; and after that, subjoin such a Method 'of Peace, Union, Love and Charity among all the 'Protestants of this Nation, as no Man but he whose 'Reason was a Slave to Interest, Passion, or some ill 'Design, could find in his Heart to dislike.

'I do not say but any Man of either side, whose 'Heart was touch'd from on high, with a Zeal for the 'good of *England*, for the Prosperity of the Protestant 'Interest, and for the Glory of the present Government, might add to, amend, and I hope at last finish 'so desirable a Work; but I am fully persuaded, I 'could State Preliminaries of such a League of Amity, 'such a Union of Affection, as should make us One 'People, with One Heart, and One Interest, equally 'Zealous, Loyal, and Affectionate to the Person of the 'Queen, and the Establishment of the Government; 'and that Government remain just the same, un-'touch'd, unalter'd Constitution that it is now.

'But as I am not worthy to be the Author of so 'great a Work, so neither shall I venture the farther 'Oppression of my private Circumstances, by endeavouring to reconcile Parties that resolve not to be reconcil'd, unless I can recieve the Protection due to a 'Messenger of Peace.

IT has often been objected to the Dissenters, by those who, with intent to widen our Breaches, are fond of blackening them as a Party, That they are Enemies of Government; That their Principles are incompatible

compatible with Monarchy; and that they are therefore dangerous both to the Church and State, that they must be continually Plotting against, because naturally discontented with the present Establishment; That they hate the Queen because she loves the Church, and the like.

From hence the furious Authors have drawn such Consequences, as, were the Assertions true, would be natural enough; That the Church ought to provide against them as a dangerous Brood hatch'd under her Wing, that will lose no Opportunity to destroy her; That they ought to be so far from being admitted into the Administration, that they ought not to be trusted with the Priviledge of Freeholders, or to Vote for those that are, and the like. *New Association, Page* 1.

But if after all that can be said on this Subject, it will appear that the true Interest of the Dissenters, is bound up in the Prosperity of the present Establishment; that their Safety depends upon the Protection of the Government; and that they cannot be guilty of endeavouring the Subversion of Monarchy, without striking at the Door of their own Prosperity, and bringing themselves into all the Confusions and Distresses they can wish to be delivered from; then the Arguments must cease of Course, the Consequences must be absurd, because the Causes are Untrue; the Dissenters must first be arraign'd for Fools, before they can be indicted for Rebels; and ought to be sent to *Bedlam*, and not to *Newgate*.

Mankind at least, such as are in their Wits, are properly said not to be capable of doing what they cannot do rationally; what they cannot do without Prejudices to their own Interest they cannot do; that is, they cannot do it without being forsaken of their Senses, their common Understanding and their Honesty.

In order to come to a State of my Proposition, I must premise, that when I speak of the Dissenters, I mean the General Body of all Sorts of Protestants

who seperate in Worship from the establish'd Church; and when I speak of the Church of *England*, I mean the General Body of Orthodox Conformists; and I take no Notice of the Private Designs or Private Tempers of Men, who may broach their own Opinions, or declare Sentiments quite Differing from the Body of their own Party.

Thus, when some hot violent Men have broke the Rules of all Modesty in their Anathema's on the Dissenters, and have doom'd them to a worse Fate than the *French* Hugonots, it cannot be agreeable to the Justice of Argument, to brand the Church of *England* with any Part of their Principles, unless they had approv'd them by some Publick Act of the Church, or merited a Claim to the Charge by a General Practise.

And thus, tho' there may be some People among the many several Sects of Dissenters, who may possess something of Antimonarchical Principles, and may retain the Spirit of Rebellion, the General Body of the Dissenters ought not to be branded with the black Mark of Rebels, Enemies to the Government, and dangerous to the Nation, unless they had committed some Crime as a Body which should merit such a Character.

And as on the one Hand, I am fully perswaded, that the Dissenters of this Nation, taking them in general, except as before excepted, are not desirous of any Change of Government; so I think 'tis easie to make it out, that while they are Masters of their Wits, and have their Eyes open to their True Interest, they can never desire to have any Part of the Government alter'd, chang'd, or otherwise settled than it is.

If any Dissenter be of another Mind, or if any Man, to sully their Character, will suppose it of them, I would be glad to see it made out what sort of Settlement, suppose it were in their Power, could they make, which would be more to their Advantage.

To come to make the Paralel, 'tis necessary to observe a State of the Dissenters Circumstances under the present Government. First,

First, They enjoy all their Civil Rights, their Liberty and Property ſtands upon the ſame Foot with their Church of *England* Conforming Neighbours: in Matters of Right or Wrong, 'tis not examin'd whether they are Diſſenters or no, but if they are *Engliſh* Men; 'tis not requir'd of them to concern their ſpiritual Capaſities, which their Temporal; their Eſtates are their own, and their Poſſeſſion of them ſecur'd by the ſame Laws, their Inheritances deſcend by uninterrupted Succeſſion to their Poſterity.

Secondly, Their Religious Liberty is tolerated by a Law, and no Conformity is exacted of them; they are invited to Church, but not driven; Excommunications, Confiſcations, *&c.* for not coming to Church, are all taken off, the Talons of the Eccleſiaſtical Harpyes at *Doctors Commons* are Cut, and thoſe Birds of Prey have their Wings pinion'd by the Law.

Thirdly, This Liberty is Univerſal to all Sorts, Kinds, and ſeperate Societies of Diſſenters, from the Quaker to the Jacobite Conformiſt; the Spirit of Perſecution is laid, and has left off haunting us in this Nation; every Man ſerves GOD his own Way, and there is no Reſtraint in Matters of Religion or Policy, only that in the latter, to preſerve the Government in the Hands of the Churches Friends; all Perſons who have any Share in the Adminiſtration are oblig'd to conform; and this is by Act of Parliament, that is, to ſay, it is an Act of all the People, conſented to by them all in their Repreſentatives, and therefore is what we ought to ſubmit to with Chearfulneſs.

I know ſome object the Reaſonableneſs of ſuch a Law as makes religious Ordinances the Teſt of Capacity for Civil Employments, and much has been ſaid on that Point, that the Law was made to pleaſe one Party, and on Purpoſe to oppreſs another Party, and the like.

If the Diſpute were between *Chriſtians* and *Pagans*, or *Chriſtians* and *Jews*, it might have ſome Reaſon in it, and none would be fit to be truſted with a Branch of

the Government, who were in principle, mortal profeſs'd Enemies to it, on Account of Religion, and in ſuch Caſe a religious Conformity would be a proper Teſt of the Party.

But waving theſe Arguments, we are not to conſider what, in right Reaſoning, we think ought to be a Law; but what actually is a Law enacted by the Legiſlator of the Nation, and to which, as Freeholders, we have given a tacit Conſent, and therefore bound our ſelves either to that Obſervation or the Penalty.

Beſides, What is the publick Poſſeſſion of Places, or Offices of Truſt, in a Government, to the Caſe of Religion? They who ſeperate from the Communion of a Church, cannot in Reaſon, expect to be entertain'd in the Service of that very Church; and they that ſeperate from the Church, ought to conſider Places and Offices beforehand, and to examine, whether they can forego them for their Conſciences or not; and if they did ſo, they would not be ſo frequently foregoing their Conſciences to poſſeſs them again.

And I cannot but wonder at, and condemn the Injuſtice of ſuch Diſſenters who would have thoſe People, to whoſe Communion they cannot, or will not joyn, receive them into equal Advantages of Honour and of Profit, of Truſt and Management, in the Politick Concern.

I cannot approve the Equity of it, nor I wou'd not have the Diſſenters covet it, nor, had they the Government in their Hands, would they admit it themſelves.

This Coveting Offices of Truſt, Honour and Profit in the Government, has been the Cauſe of that Occaſional Compliance, which to the Diſhonour and Shame of the Diſſenters, has branded them with too much Levity and Religion.

But in all Profeſſions, and in all Ages, from the Young Man in the Goſpel, whoſe Temptation was, that he had great Poſſeſſions, Covetouſneſs and Ambition

have

have been Snares to Religion; but neither does this Looſneſs of Principle lie as a Juſt Charge upon the whole Body of the Diſſenters; nor ſhou'd they bear the Error as a Brand upon the General Character, any more than the Church of *England* ought to be branded, with that General Odium of Cruelty, and barbarous deſtructive principles againſt their Diſſenting Neighbours, becauſe ſome of their Miniſters from the Pulpit, have thundred out this Fiery Doctrine to their Hearers.

And therefore, in equal Juſtice to both Sides, I think 'tis Juſt to agree, that neither party ought to be denominated from the Hot deſtructive Latitude of a Few, but from the general Practice, and known Principle of the Body, and Generality on both Sides.

That the Church of *England*, as a Church guided by their Genuine Temper, as Chriſtians and *Engliſh* Men, and govern'd by their known Principles, and the Canon of their Conſtitution have nothing ſo Antichriſtian among them, as can leave room to ſuggeſt, they would be the Deſtroyers of their Brethren, and ſet up Fire and Faggot among us, is plain from various Circumſtances of Time and Action. The Revolution, the Act of Toleration, and their preſent Reſentment of this Temper lately preſented to them, Unmaſq'd, are Modern Teſtimonies of it.

That the Diſſenters, in general, are fully ſatisfy'd with the Circumſtances of their preſent Settlement, and the Toleration they enjoy, and no otherwiſe uneaſie, than as they have induſtriouſly been made to apprehend the Privileges and Toleration they enjoy are aim'd at, and endeavour'd to be leſſen'd or overthrown, is manifeſt:

Firſt. Becauſe all the late Reign, while their Toleration and Privileges were ſecure, they were entirely Eaſie, fully pleas'd, and had nothing to wiſh, more than they enjoy'd: And, Secondly, That under all the Uneaſineſs they have in this Reign expreſs'd, the renew'd Aſſurances of the Continuance of their

Toleration

Toleration from the Royal Promiſes of the Queen, have been as Life to them from the Dead, and at all times revives their Satisfaction, after it has receiv'd any Shock from the Violence and Threatnings of a Party.

What, tho' among the Church of *England*, or among the Diſſenters, there are Incendiaries, ſome on one ſide, who till they knew it was wrote by a Diſſenter, hugg'd the Book, call'd, *The ſhorteſt Way*, like an Oracle, and a new Invention that deſerv'd a Patent for the Practiſe; ſome that have Preach'd the ſame Thing, Printed the ſame Thing, and declar'd it to be the beſt and propereſt way in the World, to ſettle the Peace of the Nation, as well as the Peace of the Church; ſome on the one ſide, who are angry at being diſpoſſeſs'd of their Hopes of good Places, and can diſpence with Sacraments, *&c.* on Occaſion, to enrich themſelves.

Both Sides, if they would ſtudy the Nations Peace, the Queens Honour, and the Proſperity of our Commerce would induſtriouſly cruſh and diſcourage the Extreams on either Side, and in the Middle might be found, that bleſſed Path of Peace and Union, which would lead the whole Body of the *Engliſh* Nation, to the full Enjoyment of that univerſal Charity and Love that every honeſt Man wiſhes for.

Here would be no Encroaching on one another, no Jealouſie of Parties; the Diſſenters would have no Reaſon to ſeek Places, to keep ſuch out as would endeavour to Ruine them; nor they could no more Grudge the Profits and Advancements of Secular Truſt to the Members of the Church, becauſe they would be ſatisfy'd; they wou'd not miſſapply their Power to the Injury of their Diſſenting Brethren; and the Church Men, when they ſaw the Diſſenters ceaſe to Encroach upon them, would have no room for any uncharitable Suggeſtions, nor any Ground to Charge them with ſeditious Practices or Deſigns to overwhelm

whelm the Government, ſubdue Monarchy, or erect Confuſion and intolerable Anarchy.

In order to this happy Regularity, I proceed to ſtate my Propoſition, that 'tis the True Intereſt of the Diſſenters in *England*, to be govern'd by a Church of *England* Magiſtracy.

And as I pretend, in what I write, to as much Impartiality as I can, ſo I am not at all careful of diſpleaſing Parties, if I do it in a direct purſuit of Truth.

And therefore while I firſt turn upon my Friends the Diſſenters, tho' they may be angry with me, I cannot help laying down this as the firſt Reaſon of my Propoſition: *viz.* That they are not qualified to be truſted with the Government of themſelves.

Nor do I go back to the years of Forty one, about which ſuch a **pother** has been made, as if all the preſent Diſſenters had been in Arms againſt their King, tho' not one in Five hundred of them was then Born; or as if they had all a hand in the death of King *Charles* the Firſt; or at leaſt, with St. *Paul*, in the Caſe of St. *Stephen*, had been conſenting to his Death: But as a quarrel, which was ended before I was born, I have nothing to do with it; Let thoſe people accuſe the Diſſenters of that, who have undertaken to juſtify the Church of *England* in a Caſe ſomething like it, as the late Revolution.

I think the Fable of the Countreymen, who made their addreſs to *Jupiter* for good Weather for their Harveſt, is ſomething an Emblem of what I mean; they who dwelt in the Plains and moiſt Ground deſir'd fair Weather, and they who dwelt on the Hills deſir'd Rain, upon which the Deity order'd them to go together and conſult of it, and when they could agree what Weather to ask for that would pleaſe them all, they ſhould come again.

Now, if on the late, or any Revolution, it had been propoſed to the Diſſenters to have the Government of this Nation, I mean the Civil as well as Eccleſiaſtical

cleſiaſtical Authority ſettled in their Hands, and in order to ſuch a Settlement they were all met together to conſider of it, *I* would be glad to be inform'd in what manner they could poſſibly have agreed about it: 'Tis not my preſent Enquiry what manner of Government they would have agreed upon, *I* have elſewhere ſufficiently prov'd, that the Conſtitution, Intereſt, and Genius of the whole Nation would lead them to a Monarchy, and to the ſame individual Monarchy now ſettled; but my Queſtion is, In what manner they would agree in the ſettling this very Monarchy?

The General body of the Diſſenters are compos'd of Four ſorts, and thoſe Four ſo oppoſite in their Temper, Cuſtoms, Doctrine and Diſcipline, that *I* am of opinion 'tis as probable all Four ſhould Conform to the Church of *England*, as to one another.

There is the *Presbyterian*, *Independant*, *Anabaptiſt* and *Quaker*; now, if theſe Four were met like a *Poliſh* Diet on Horſeback to chooſe a King, he muſt be a great deal wiſer than I that can but gueſs out of which Party all the other Three could conſent to Name a King; or by which Party all the other Three could conſent to be Govern'd; for that would be the *Engliſh* of it.

The *Independant* could never bear *Presbyterian* Government, that has been tryed already; for they once pull'd it down by the Ears as intolerable.

The *Anabaptiſts* in general, declare the *Presbyterian* would ſet up Perſecution from the old Principle, That *Presbyteries* are *Jure Divino*, and therefore to them, a *Presbyterian* Government would be all one with *Popery*.

The *Presbyterian* would never brook an *Independant* or *Anabaptiſt* Government, becauſe they count the one Sectary, and hardly admit the other to be Orthodox Chriſtians.

None

None of the Three would bear the thought of a *Quaker* King, the Novelty would make Mankind Laugh at the Propoſal, the Splendor and Magnificence of a Court, and the neceſſary Defence and Offence which the Confederacies and Intereſts of Nations require, are things ſo inconſiſtent with this plain dealing Profeſſor, that he muſt ceaſe to be a Quaker when he began to be a King; and they would then be much in doubt what Religion, and conſequently what Party he would chooſe; and therefore none of the Parties would agree to him.

So that the whole Body might, like the Countreymen, Go home and conſider of it, and come to the Aſſembly again when they were agreed upon the Point.

And if the Crown of this Kingdom does but remain in a Succeſſion of Church of *England* Monarchs, till theſe Four can agree which of them ſhall Reign, the Benediction of the *Scotch* Parſon to King *James* the Firſt may be fulfill'd, That they ſhall Reign as long as the Sun and Moon endure.

In the next place were the Government fix'd in any one of theſe Parties, without the Concurrence of the reſt, it does not appear to me that any ſingle Party would be ſtrong enough to maintain themſelves; for thoſe who did not freely conſent to, would not willingly aſſiſt the Government; and every little diſſatisfaction of Parties would ſhock the Conſtitution. Revolutions would be as frequent as Inſurrections; and Mobbing our Governors, be as familiar as a Street Riot; conſequently Property would be never ſecur'd, nor Families preſerv'd; for 'tis very rarely ſeen in Governments that Crowns ſhift ſides, but the Patrons of the laſt Government ſink under the Oppreſſions of the preſent; the Favourites of one ſide, riſe upon the ruins of the laſt; and the next turn wheels them under the Stage, and ſets up others; and ſo on to the General Revolution of all things.

'Tis

'Tis true, there is a thing call'd the People, the Multitude, the Rabble, or in a more Modern term, the Mob; theſe, like a great Raft of Timber in a River which receives the Tides from the Sea, are ever a Float, and drive this way or that, asthey are hurried on by the General Current; 'tis true alſo that their Force is irreſiſtibly Violent, and nothing can withſtand them; but ſtill, like the Raft of Timber, when the force of the Tide is ſpent, and the Stream turns, they are as certain to Drive back again with the ſame Violence of Motion as ever they were to move at all; ſo that there is no more advantage from this Crowd to one Party than there is to another: The ſame Mob will Huzza a King to his Throne, and Halloo him out of the Nation.

The ſtrength therefore of any Party in this Nation conſiſts in the power of its real Intereſt; for let the beſt King that ever Reign'd in *England*, be invaded by the worſt, if he beat him in the Field but one Battle, he is gone, the Nation is all his own.

This is too plain from Hiſtory; *William the Conqueror* fought but one Battle for the whole Nation; and I know not one Inſtance in all our Hiſtory, of any Prince that fought two, except King *John*. *Maud* the Empreſs Invaded King *Stephen*, and in one Battle the whole Quarrel run over to her. In the Caſe of *Henry* the Sixth, and *Edward* the Fourth, one ſingle Battle, at a time, ſhifted the Crown of *England* Five or Six times; the like in the Caſe of *Henry* the Seventh. In the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Caſe, one Fight ended the Diſpute: And in our late Revolution, no Fight at all, but the appearance of an Army, gain'd the General Concurrence of the People.

In Caſe therefore of the Government being to be tendred to the Diſſenters, they would never agree among themſelves who ſhould have it; and if any one Party obtain'd it without the conſent of the other, he would never be able to hold it; and the Nation would

would be expos'd to inevitable Confusions and Distractions.

Possibly the Dissenters may take it ill, if I should say they are not qualified with a Governing Temper; and since they are not like to be tryed, 'tis needless to enquire whether they are or no; but I am apt to think the most sensible Men among them will acknowledge it, *these Brethren would fall out by the way*; they want some qualifications which are very necessary to Government, as Charity, Patience, but particularly Penetration and Generosity.

I allow this may be from the Accidents of their Circumstances, and the Paucity of their Numbers; the Men of Conscience being, by the Scripture Direction, not to be look'd for among the Wise or Noble, that is, not among the Politicians nor the Gentry.

But God Almighty can qualifie, *says a Dissenter now*, and give a Spirit of Government where he pleases to give a Call to Governing.

I confess that freely, and therefore it seems to me very plain, that where he has not bestow'd the Spirit of Government, he has not design'd to entrust the Power of it; and therefore I would advise the Dissenters in *England* not to concern themselves about it, at least while they are not ill Treated, Oppress'd or Persecuted by those who have the Power of Governing.

Upon these Considerations, and more I could name, if I thought these were not sufficient, I verily believe, that were the Four sorts of People which I have nam'd as constituting the Body of the Dissenters, enquir'd of separately, they would all Vote the Government into the hands of the Church of *England*. What would the *Anabaptist* say, if 'twere enquir'd of them by themselves; *Who will you have to be your King, a* Presbyterian *or a Church of* England *Man?* They would most certainly answer, if their General Answers in like Cases may be regarded, the Church of *England*:

England: For under them we ſhall have a Toleration; but th' other will Perſecute us in particular from all the reſt of the Diſſenters, and from the old Principle of *Jure Divino*, will ſay of all that are not of their own Opinion, *Compell them to come in.*

What will the *Presbyterian* ſay, if the Church or *Independant* were propoſed? They'd all cry out the Church of *England:* For theſe *Independants* will be for Levelling us all to their own narrow Principles, till we ſhall have no Government left at all, and at laſt no Property, but run all into Fifth Monarchy Men, and make us ſell our Eſtates for the uſe of the Saints.

If the *Anabaptiſts* and the Church were in Competition, they'd Cry out again, give us the Church of *England* Government, for theſe have no Government at all; we know not what to ſay of them, and hardly know whether ſome of them are Chriſtians or no.

As to the *Quakers*; neither would they brook any of the Three, nor any of the Three them; ſo that natural Conſequences, the Reaſon of the Thing, the Temper of the ſeparate Parties, and in general, the Intereſt of the whole, would make all the Diſſenters Unanimous, in deſiring to be govern'd by the Church of *England* Magiſtracy.

I can yet ſee no tolerable Objection againſt this Doctrine; and I do not think it betters an Argument at all, to form trifling Objections, on purpoſe to anſwer them.

But if this Doctrine be true, then ſome Conſequences are to be drawn from it, which would, if well improv'd, lay the Foundation of an intire Peace, a firm Union and Confidence between the moſt oppoſite Parties in this Nation; ſo that ſpeaking of publick Intereſt, there ſhould never be any Contention, any Strife, Jealouſies, or Animoſities more; the Government ſhould for ever eſteem the Diſſenter, tho' differing in Opinion, yet as Loyal and Affectionate to their Intereſt

Intereſt as any of the reſt of its Subjects, ſince having devolv'd all their Thoughts into this one Reſolution, That 'tis beſt for the Nation, and beſt for their Intereſt, that the Church of *England* party ſhould be the governing, ruling Party, and be intruſted with the Civil Power; they could not imagine any Danger from them, becauſe no People ever willingly Act againſt their own Intereſt as ſuch; and the Diſſenters not knowing where better to fix the Government, than where it is, could never be ſo bewitch'd, or forſaken of their Reaſon, to endeavour to alter it.

On the other Hand, the Diſſenters having no Deſire to alter, could have no Advantage to diſturb the Government, and conſequently could have no Reaſon to ſtruggle to wind themſelves into any Part of the Magiſtracy, eſpecially being fully ſatisfy'd, that it was already in the beſt Hands it could be for the Benefit of the Whole.

All theſe little Diſſatisfactions, and Strife of Parties for Elections, would die as Effects, the Original Strife about the Center of the Government, being once remov'd as the Cauſe.

Occaſional Conformity would be caſual and indifferent, neither worth one Parties ſtraining their Principles to comply with, nor the other Parties their Wits to explode; there would be no need of it on one Hand, nor it would be of no ill Conſequence on the other.

The General Conſequences I draw from what I have alleag'd, are ſuch as theſe.

Firſt, Thoſe warm Gentlemen of the Church of *England*, who think they do G O D good Service in railing at the Diſſenters, as Subverters of the Church and of the Monarchy, and ſhow their Wit in firſt Painting the Robe of Rebellion in all its bloody Co-

ſours, and then dreſſing up the Diſſenter in it, as if the Coat ſitted none but him, are very much to blame; my Charity diſpoſes me to hope they are unwillingly ſo; but certainly they are effectually and eventually Enemies to the Peace of the Church, and the Proſperity of the Crown; all the Averſion of Parties is owing to them; all the ill Blood which is to be found among the Diſſenters, is owing to the Menaces of theſe furious People, who in Print and in Pulpit, Entitle the whole Church and Government to the Extaſies of their Paſſions, and ſpeak in the plural Number, as if they were then commanded to Curſe *Jacob*.

Theſe were the proper Authors of the *Shorteſt Way*, tho' ſome Body elſe may ſuffer for it; and theſe Gentlemen, with humble Submiſſion to the Government, unleſs of their own accord they Diſiſt, will, whenever our Rulers ſee their own Intereſt, be ordered to do it.

'Tis farther manifeſt, that this Way of treating the Diſſenters can have no preſent Signification, for the Government, and Her Majeſty in particular, having ſufficiently teſtify'd their Abhorrance of deſtroying, hanging, or baniſhing all the Diſſenters; To what purpoſe then can be the Treating them with ſo much indecent Contempt, and keeping them in conſtant Alarms from the perpetual menaces of the Pulpit? No Indignation of the Clergy, or any Body elſe can hurt them, while Her Majeſty thinks Her Self oblig'd to promiſe them Liberty and Protection.

Beſides, it ſeems indecent, that when the Crown indulges them, the Pulpit ſhou'd threaten them; that the Clergy ſhould perſecute them from the Preſs, when the Government tolerates them from the Law; this Way of theſe Gentlemen treating the Diſſenters, can have no Signification but what looks diſloyal and diſreſpectful to the Queen, and manifeſtly turns to their own Diſadvantage, as to Character, and to the Diſadvantage of the

the Government, whoſe undoubted Intereſt it is, to have a free and intire Love, and uninterrupted Confidence in all its Subjects.

Secondly, If this Doctrine be true, then the Diſſenters have been Ill manag'd, and it is in the Power of the Government to make them all Zealous, Hearty and Loyal to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, in every Part of it, to make the Diſſenters eaſie, and themſelves eaſie with them; and the Governing Power, yet remain, not only by a Right, but by a voluntary, true Conceſſion of Parties; That the Diſſenters ſhall not only obey the preſent Authority, but chooſe it, love it, and believe it to be the beſt, and the beſt for them; and that if it were diſſolv'd to Morrow, would be the firſt Men in the Nation to reſtore it to the very ſingle, undivided poſture it now flouriſhes in, and to maintain it there.

The Queen would be ſerv'd with an undivided Loyalty, without concerning themſelves who ſhall come next; all Parties will earneſtly pray, that Her Majeſty may continue long, and the Glory ſhe will obtain by bringing about ſo happy, ſo unexpected a Union of divided Parties, ſhall be greater in Ages yet to come, than all the Conqueſts of Her Armies, or the Succeſs of this doubtful War.

If any ſhou'd be ſo weak, as to ſay Her Majeſty does not deſire any ſuch Union, tho' the Notion is too abſurd to merit any Remark, yet it leads me to take Notice, that really, whatever Her Majeſty deſires, there are ſome People who certainly do not deſire it.

There can be no Body in the Nation but muſt deſire this Union, but ſuch as are for *The Shorteſt Way*. 'Tis manifeſt, the Government underſtands the General Intereſt of the Nation too well, not to deſire ſuch a Union: 'Tis plain, Her Majeſty has expreſs'd Her Re-

ſentment at the Suggeſtion of any thing Cruel to any of Her Subbjects; and Her often expreſſing Her Royal Tenderneſs for all Her Subjects, puts it out of doubt, She would be glad to ſee them all in the ſame Path to Heaven with Her ſelf; but while She cannot Hope for that, She cannot but deſire to ſee them ſhaking Hands, and united in Hearts in the Journey, tho' the Steps they take are in different parallels.

And Her Majeſty cannot but be pleas'd to ſee that all Her Subjects, of whatſoever Opinion in Matters of Religion, ſhould joyn in a more than ordinary Zeal and Affection for both Her Perſon and Government.

Another Inference from the Premiſes, is this; Thoſe Diſſenters who covet Places and Preferment in the Government, and encreaſe the Scandal of their Principles, on Account of Occaſional Conformity for that End, are alſo to blame, eſpecially at ſuch a time as this.

If it be the True Intereſt of the Diſſenters to be under the Government of the Church of *England* Magiſtracy, let thoſe to whom Places, Salaries, and Honours are of more than common Neceſſity, and that can conform to qualifie themſelves for them, continue in the Church; and ſo not only help to promote the Government they eſpouſe, but alſo carry on the Intereſt of Peace, General Charity, Loyalty, and Affection to the Queen, and to the Subject of every ſide.

The Diſſenters, as Diſſenters, can have no Reaſon to covet Places; the Pretence of keeping out Men that would diſſerve the Publick would be over; for where there is but one undivided Intereſt in Government, there can be no ſubſiſtance for Factions and Parties.

What

What then can a Diſſenter, as a Diſſenter, covet a publick Employment for! 'Tis plain, 'tis his Intereſt the Church Party ſhould have the Government, and that if 'twas in his Hands, or offer'd to him, he could not tell what to do with it, but would Petition the Church Party to take it again; he can have nothing to ask, but to be ſure of his Liberty and Property, his Toleration and Eſtate.

In order to this, being effectually ſecur'd, there wants nothing, but that the Church Party be fully ſatisfy'd that he never can encroach on the Government, alter or diſturb it, which without damage to his own Intereſt muſt be impoſſible; and the Church-Man being aſſur'd of this, can have no manner of Ground to wiſh the Toleration repeal'd, or the Property of the Diſſenter weaken'd, becauſe he is a willing Subject, and always will be a Friend to the Government, from the irrefragable Reaſons of his own Safety and Intereſt.

After this mutual Confidence ſettl'd, a Diſſenter can never deſire a Place in the Government, but for the Profit or Honour; and if he cannot diſpenſe with himſelf about that, he muſt bring his Conſcience and the Sallary, or his Conſcience and the Title together, and let them make the Bargain as well as they can, the State is no way concern'd in it.

I ſee no difficulty remains, but how to procure this mutual Confidence of Parties, which tho' it be remote, is far from impoſſible; but I am in ſo fair a Way to be ruin'd, for Deſcribing the *Shorteſt Way* to undo us, that I ſhall be very wary how I preſcribe more *Short Ways*, without the Direction of my Superiors; and that Concurring, I doubt not it might eaſily be brought to paſs.

But Two imediate Circumſtances would contribute a great deal towards it, and both theſe I have often driven at; and while any thing I ſhall write, will be

read,

read, ſhall continue to aim at it, and this is a Communion of Charity and Civility between the Parties; this would make Way for a right Underſtanding; and tho' there are differences in Religion, there need be none in Affection, in Society, in Neighbourhood; People may be good Neighbours, good Friends, and united in Intereſt, tho' one goes to the Church, and 'tother to the Meeting-Houſe; let the Strife be who lives Beſt, and the Contention of the Clergy who ſhall Preach Beſt, and by this make as many Parties and Factions as they pleaſe; let them Preach one another's Hearers away, and Increaſe and Decreaſe according to the Genuine, Honeſt Lives and Doctrines of the Party, then the beſt Church will be the biggeſt Church; they who Preach Beſt, and Practice Beſt, will have the moſt of their ſide; and that Church which has the moſt of its ſide, will ſoon have the upper Hand, for Number always prevails.

Nay, it ſeems a Reflection on both ſides in my Opinion, that here ſhould be ſuch ſtriving, ſuch puſhing at Power, and making Intereſt by Parties about Religion; let them leave Religion to Her own Methods: The *Coffee-Houſe* and the *Clubs* need not be concern'd about Her, let which ſide ſoever have the Choice of Sheriffs, Mayors and Parliament Men; if it muſt be Religion that is in Diſpute, let the Diſpute be managed as a religious One, and no otherwiſe; let the Lives and Doctrines of the Parties alone to Fight it out; they who have the beſt Principles, and live beſt up to them, will certainly get the better of it at laſt; and if Governments and Intereſt of Parties ſtood but Neuter, it would quickly appear who are the People.

But to touch a little the Particulars; If this Union of Intereſt be ever attempted, there muſt be firſt a Union of Charity.

Firſt,

First, The Diſſenters, in whoſe Name I have pretended to ſay, that they are willing to live peaceably and quietly under the eſtabliſh'd Government, ſhould Evidence it by Practice; they who, among the Diſſenters, are diſturb'd at the Profits and Truſt of the Government being taken from them and given to the Churchmen, are to blame, are obſtructors of their General Peace, if not Enemies to it; for as Diſſenters, First, 'Tis not a Farthing Advantge to your General Intereſt, if it be your Intereſt the Church Party ſhould have the Government; and if you would all Vote for a Church of *England* Magiſtracy if it were in your Choice, Who ſhou'd have the Places and Profits of the Government, but thoſe to whom you commit the Government? To deſire it otherwiſe would be unreaſonable —— But the main Caſe lies here, you would not be excluded, as unquallify'd and dangerous People.

Without Offence, let me ſay one Thing; this proceeds from the Jealouſies infus'd in the Church Party, that you covet all, and that you would throw them out of the Saddle, to ſet your ſelves in; and this Jealouſie proceeds from the eagerneſs to get into Places, and the Diſſatisfaction you expreſs for being ſhut out.

Convince them that 'tis a Miſtake, as indeed it muſt be if you are in your Senſes; and let them know, by the Effects, that they are in the Wrong, and you will then never be excluded from Places as dangerous People, but, in time, be admitted equally with all the Loyal Subjects of the Nation.

I know no Reaſon a Diſſenter has to deſire any Concern in the Government but the Gain of it; for if ſince 'twas in his Power to remove the Government, he would place it juſt where it is, he can have no deſign to do it any Injury; if then the Profits of Places and Truſt be the Caſe, my Advice to the Diſſenters,

is to convince the Church Men by a General Quietneſs, and Unanimous Concurrence with the Government, that however they are divided in Principles, they are one Body of *Engliſh* Men, under that very Government both of them like, and which both of them would, if it were diſſolv'd, voluntarily chooſe to Erect again; that they have but one Intereſt, one End, one Deſign, and can never be ſeparated without an Injury to both; have one Crown, one Parliament, and are but one People, and never deſire to be otherwiſe; and if both ſides came to a ſatisfaction of this Point, there would be no more excluding of Parties for Religion; Teſts, Sacraments, and occaſional Conformities, which are now the Scandal of both ſides, would ſink of themſelves, the Cauſes of them would die, and the Effects could not ſurvive; 'twould be every Man's Intereſt to ſupport what was every Man's Choice to ſet up; every Man would deſire to maintain that Government which every Man would endeavour to reſtore; and he that injur'd it, would equally be abhor'd by all ſides.

But all the Work does not lie on the Diſſenters ſide neither; and ſince I have once anger'd both ſides, by ſpeaking under a diſguiſe, I can but run the ſame Fate in ſpeaking plainly.

The Church of *England* Men muſt put their Hand to this Work, or it will never be brought to paſs.

Some have ſtarted an unkind Objection in the World, That there is no real deſire in the Church Party ever to come to an Accomodation with the Diſſenters.

This may be true of ſome People in the Church, but it cannot be true of the General Body of the *Engliſh* Church,

Church, of whom, as I before made a proviſional Caution, I am Treating; nor can it be true of any that call themſelves Church-Men, unleſs one of thoſe two Caſes are in it: Firſt, that they are only Incendiaries and Diſturbers of the Nation, who act under the Mask of the Church Profeſſion, but are really Enemies of both; Or, Secondly, That they are Mad-men, bereav'd both of their religious and politick Senſes.

We have had it Printed, with an Aſſurance I have wonder'd at, That the moderate Members of the Church of *England*, call'd *Low Church Men*, are worſe than the Diſſenters; are Fanaticks in Maſquerade; and poſſibly ſuch Men as are of that Opinion, would be as much diſturb'd if all the Diſſenters ſhould conform, as if all the the Moderate Church Men ſhould turn Diſſenters; becauſe then their own Principles would be exploded immediately by all good Men, and their Perſons mark'd as the General Incendiaries of the Nation; all the Sin of Politick Schiſm would plainly lye at their Doors; and not only ſo, but the moderate Gentlemen of the Church of *England*, are the Men of Temper, and of Charity, Men of Liberty, of Candor, and of Principles, and this makes them averſe to Oppreſſion and Perſecution.

The Church of *England* is particularly denominated from theſe Men; I call all that Part of the Church, moderate Men, who are true Genuine Conformiſts to the Church, in Doctrine and Diſcipline, but neither bigotted to their Opinions, nor tainted with Tyranny and Oppreſſion, who are of the Church, becauſe they think it's the trueſt Way of Worſhip; who ſpeaking of Religion, are Proteſtants, and good Chriſtians; ſpeaking of Politicks, are Loyal Subjects

to the Crown; but withal, are *English* Men, and fill'd with Charity to those who differ from them, cautious of *English* Liberty, and forward not to oppress their Neighbours.

Nay, even Men of higher and straighter Principles, who think hard of those who Dissent from them, yet are not for oppressing them, and to make Pretences where they cannot find them, to ruine Families for Opinion in Religion.

If the Church has the Government, and the Dissenters are pleas'd with its being so, what have they to desire? If they have all the Profits of it, and the Dissenters, with Confidence, commit themselves to their Protection, what can they ask more? What other Reason can those Gentlemen, who are so hot against the Dissenters, give, why they shou'd be oppress'd, but their Fear of them as a Party? This Fear is thus prov'd to be absur'd and groundless, and therefore I think the Consequence is plain.

Those People who drive at the suppressing the Dissenters, cannot be Friends to the Church, nor to the Government; 'tis true, it would be better for the Church there was no Schism, no Breach on Account of Opinion; but since there is, and they cannot pretend to bring all the Dissenters back again, unless they will set up the *Shortest Way*, it cannot agree with Policy, or publick Interest, to make them uneasie.

If they won't Conform to the Church, 'tis impossible to make them; but if they will Conform to the Government, if they are not Dissenters in Politicks, if they Assent and Consent in publick Matters,

ters, if they acquiesce with a Church of *England* Government, and if it were in their Power would chooſe it from all others, as is I think fairly prov'd, then it cannot be the Intereſt of the Government to diſturb them; and they who would cruſh them, expoſe them, or widen the Breach between them and the Church, cannot be Friends to the Church, or to the Government, and ought to be treated accordingly.

FINIS.

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